1489. b. 46.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

DEVIL,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART FIRST, CONTAINING

A STATE OF THE DEVIL'S CIRCUMSTANCES, FROM HIS EXPULSION OUT OF HEAVEN, TO THE CREATION; WITH REMARKS ON THE SEVERAL MISTAKES CONCERNING HIS FALL.

PART SECOND, CONTAINING

HIS MORE PRIVATE CONDUCT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIMES; HIS GOVERNMENT, HIS APPEARANCES, HIS MANNER OF WORKING, AND THE TOOLS HE WORKS WITH.

WITH

A DESCRIPTION,

OF THE DEVIL'S DWELLING.

Bad as he is, the Devil may be abus'd
Be falsly charg'd, and causelessly accus'd;
When men, unwillingly to be blam'd alone,
Shift off those crimes on him which are their own.

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JUN

THE PREFACE.

THE ſubject of this work is ſingular, and it has been handled after a ſingular manner; the wiſe part of the world has been pleaſed with it, the merry part has been diverted with it, and the ignorant part has been taught by it; none but the malicious part of the world has been offended at it: who can wonder then, that when the Devil is not pleaſed, his friends ſhould be angry?

The ſtrangeſt thing of all is, to hear Satan complain that the ſtory is handled profanely: but who can think it ſtrange, that his advocates ſhould be what he was from the beginning?

The author affirms, and has good vouchers for it, (in the opinion of ſuch whoſe judgment paſſes with him for an authority), the whole tenor of the work is ſolemn, calculated to promote ſerious religion, and capable of being improved in a religious manner. But he does not think, that we are bound never to ſpeak of the Devil but with an air of terror, as if we were always afraid of him.

It is evident the Devil, as ſubtile and as frightful as he is, has acted the ridiculous and fooliſh part, and much as moſt of God's creatures, and daily does ſo. And he cannot believe it is any ſin to expoſe him for a fooliſh Devil, as he is, or ſhew him to the world that he may be laughed at.

Thoſe who think the ſubject not handled with gravity enough, have all the room given them in the world to handle it better; and as the author profeſſes he is far from thinking his piece perfect, they ought not to be angry, that he gives them leave to mend it.

PREFACE.

He has had the ſatisfaction to pleaſe ſome readers, and to ſee good men approve it; and for the reſt, as my Lord Rocheſter ſays, in another caſe.

He counts their cenſure fame.

As for a certain reverend gentleman, who is pleaſed gravely to diſlike the work (he hopes rather for the author's ſake than the Devil's): he only ſays, let the performance be how it will, and the author what he will, it is apparent he has not preached away all his hearers.

It is enough for me (ſays the author) that the Devil himſelf is not pleaſed with my work, and leſs with the deſign of it; let the Devil and all his fellow complainers ſtand on one ſide, and the honeſt well-meaning, charitable world, who approve of my work, on the other, and I will tell noſes with Satan, if he dare.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DEVIL,

&c.

CHAP. I.

Being an introduction to the whole Work.

I DOUBT not but the title of this book will amuſe ſome of my reading friends a little at firſt; they will make a pauſe, perhaps, as they do at a witch's prayer, and be ſome time a reſolving whether they had beſt look into it or no, leaſt they ſhould really raiſe the Devil, by reading his ſtory.

Children and old women have told themſelves ſo many frightful things of the Devil, and have formed ideas of him in their minds, in ſo many horrible and monſtrous ſhapes, that really it was enough to fright the Devil himſelf to meet himſelf in the dark, dreſſed up in the ſeveral figures which imagination has formed for him in the minds of men; and, as for themſelves, I cannot think by any means that the Devil would terrify them half ſo much, if they would converſe face to face with him.

It muſt certainly therefore be a moſt uſeful undertaking, to give the true hiſtory of this tyrant of the air, this god of this world, this terror and averſion of mankind, which we call Devil: to ſhew what he *is*, and what he *is not*; where he *is*, and where he *is not*; when he is *in us*, and when he *is not*; for I cannot doubt but that the Devil is really, and *bona fide*, in a great many of our honeſt weak headed friends, when they themſelves know nothing of the matter.

Nor is the work ſo difficult as ſome may imagine. The devil's hiſtory is not ſo hard to come at, as it ſeems to be; his original and the firſt riſe of his family is upon record; and as for his conduct, he has acted indeed in the dark, as to his method, in many things; but in general, as cunning as he is, he has been fool enough to expoſe himſelf in ſome of the moſt conſiderable tranſactions of his life, and has not ſhewn himſelf a politician at all. Our old friend Machiavel outdid him in

many things and I may in the proceſs of this work give an account of ſeveral of the ſons of Adam, and ſome ſocieties of them too, who have outwitted the Devil, nay, who have outſinned the Devil, and that I think may be called outſhooting him in his own bow.

It may perhaps be expected of me in this hiſtory, that ſince I ſeem inclined to ſpeak favourably of Satan, to do him juſtice, and to write his ſtory impartially, I ſhould take ſome pains to tell you what religion he is of; and even this part may not be ſo much a jeſt, as at firſt ſight you may take it to be; for Satan has ſomething of religion in him, I aſſure you; nor is he ſuch an unprofitable Devil that way as ſome may ſuppoſe him to be; for though, in reverence to my brethren, I will not reckon him among the clergy; no, not ſo much as a gifted brother; yet I cannot deny but that he often preaches, and if it be not profitable to his hearers, it is as much their fault, as it is out of his deſign.

It has indeed been ſuggeſted, that he has taken orders; and that a certain Pope, famous for being an extraordinary favourite of his, gave him both inſtitution and induction; but as this is not upon record, and therefore we have no authentic document for the probation, I ſhall not affirm it for a truth, for I would not ſlander the Devil.

It is ſaid alſo, and I am apt to believe it, that he was very familiar with that holy father Pope Silveſter II. and ſome charge him with perſonating Pope Hildebrand on an extraordinary occaſion, and himſelf ſitting in the chair apoſtolic, in a full congregation; and you may hear more of this hereafter: But as I do not meet with Pope Diabolas among the liſt, in all Father Platina's lives of the Popes, ſo I am willing to leave it as I find it.

But to ſpeak to the point, and a nice point it is I acknowledge; namely, what religion the Devil is of; my anſwer will indeed be general, yet not at all ambiguous; for I love to ſpeak poſitively, and with undoubted evidence.

1. He is a believer. And if in ſaying ſo it ſhould follow that even the Devil has more religion than ſome of our men of fame can at this time be charged with, I hope my Lord——, and his Grace the —— of ——, and ſome of the upper claſs in the red-hot club, will not wear the coat, however well it may fit to their ſhapes; or challenge the ſatire, as if it were pointed at them, becauſe it is due to them: In a word, whatever their Lordſhips are, I can aſſure them that the Devil is no infidel.

2. He

2. He fears God. We have ſuch abundant evidence of this in ſacred hiſtory, that if I were not at preſent, in common with a few others, talking to an infidel ſort of gentlemen, with whom theſe remote things called Scriptures are not allowed in evidence, I might ſay it was ſufficiently proved; but I doubt not in the proceſs of this undertaking to ſhew, that the Devil really fears God, and that after another manner than ever he feared Saint Frances or Saint Dunſtan; and if that be proved, as I take upon me to advance, I ſhall leave it to judgment, who is the better chriſtian, the Devil who believes and trembles, or our modern gentry of —— who believe neither God nor Devil.

Having thus brought the Devil within the pale, I ſhall leave him among you for the preſent; not but that I may examine in its order, who has the beſt claim to his brotherhood, the Papiſts or the Proteſtants; and among the latter the Lutherans or the Calviniſts: and ſo deſcending to all the ſeveral denominations of the churches, ſee who has leſs of the Devil in them, and who more; and whether leſs or more, the Devil has not a ſeat in every ſynagogue, a pew in every church, a place in every pulpit, and a vote in every ſynod; even from the ſanhedrim of the Jews, to our friends at the Bull and Mouth, &c. from the greateſt to the leaſt.

It will, I confeſs, come very much within the compaſs of this part of my diſcourſe, to give an account, or at leaſt to make an eſſay towards it, of the ſhare the Devil has had in the ſpreading religion in the world; and eſpecially of dividing and ſubdividing opinions in religion; perhaps, to eke it out, and make it reach the further; and alſo to ſhew how far he is or has made himſelf miſſionary of the famous clan *de propaganda fide*; it is true we find him heartily employed in almoſt every corner of the world *ad propagandum errorum*: But that may require an hiſtory by itſelf.

As to his propagating religion, it is a little hard indeed at firſt ſight, to charge the Devil with propagating religion, that is to ſay, if we take it litterally, and in the groſs; but if you take it as the Scots inſiſted to take the oath of infidelity, viz. with an explanation; it is plain Satan has very often had a ſhare in the method, if not in the deſign, of propagating the chriſtian faith; For example.

I think it no injury at all to the Devil, to ſay that he had a great hand in the old holy war, as it was ignorantly and enthuſiaſtically called; ſtirring up the Chriſtian Princes and pow-

ers of Europe to run a mading after the Turks and Saracens, and make war with thoſe innocent people above a thouſand miles off, only becauſe they entered into God's heritage when he had forſaken it; grazed upon his ground when he had fairly turned it into a common, and laid open for the next comer; ſpending their nations treaſure, and embarking their kings and people (I ſay) in a war above a thouſand miles off, filling their heads with that religious madneſs, called in thoſe days, Holy Zeal, to recover the *Terra Sancta*, the ſepulchres of Chriſt and the ſaints, and as they called falſely the Holy City, though true religion ſays it was the accurſed city, and not worth ſpending one drop of blood for.

This religious bubble was certainly of Satan, who, as he craftily drew them in, ſo like a true devil, he left them in the lurch when they came there, faced about to the Saracens, animated the immortal Saladin againſt them, and managed ſo dextrouſly, that he left the bones of about thirteen or fourteen hundred thouſand Chriſtians there, as a trophy of his infernal politics: And after the Chriſtian world had run *al a ſanta terra*, or in Engliſh, a ſauntering about a hundred years, he dropt it to play another game leſs fooliſh, but ten times more wicked than that which went before it: namely, turning the cruſadoes of the Chriſtians one againſt another; and, as Hudibraſs ſaid in another caſe,

"Make them fight like mad or drunk,
"For Dame Religion, as for punk."

Of this you have a complete account in the hiſtory of the Popes decrees againſt the Count de Thouloufe, and the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, with the cruſadoes and maſſacres which followed upon them; wherein, to do the Devil's politics ſome juſtice, he met with all the ſucceſs he could deſire. The zealots of that day executed his infernal orders moſt punctually, and planted religion in thoſe countries in a glorious and triumphant manner, upon the deſtruction of an infinate number of innocent people, whoſe blood has fattened the ſoil for the growth of the Catholic faith, in a manner very particular, and to Satan's full ſatisfaction.

I might, to complete this part of the hiſtory, give you the detail of his progreſs in theſe firſt ſteps of his alliances with Rome, and add a long liſt of maſſacres, wars, and expeditions in behalf of religion, which he has had the honour to have a viſible hand in; ſuch as the Pariſian maſſacre, the Flemiſh war under the Duke d' Alva, the Smithfield fires in the Marian days

days in England, and the maſſacres in Ireland; all which would moſt effectually convince us, that the Devil has not been idle in his buſineſs: but I may meet with theſe again in my way; it is enough, while I am upon the generals only, to mention them thus in a ſummary way: I ſay, it is enough to prove, that the Devil has really been as much concerned as any body, in the methods taken by ſome people for propagating the Chriſtian religion in the world.

Some have raſhly, and I had almoſt ſaid maliciouſly, charged the Devil with the great triumphs of his friends the Spaniards in America, and would place the conqueſts of Mexico and Peru to credit of his account.

But I cannot join with them in this at all. I may ſay, I believe the Devil was innocent in that matter: my reaſon is, becauſe Satan was never ſuch a fool as to ſpend his time or his politics, or embark his allies, to conquer nations who were already his own: that would be Satan againſt Beelzebub, a making war againſt himſelf, and at leaſt doing nothing to the purpoſe.

If they ſhould charge him, indeed, with deluding Philip II of Spain into that prepoſterous attempt called *the Armada* (*Anglice*, the Spaniſh invaſion) I ſhould indeed more readily join with them: But whether he did it weakly, in hope, which was indeed not likely that it would ſucceed; or wickedly, to deſtroy that great fleet of the Spaniards, and draw them within the reach of his dominions, the elements: this being a queſtion which authors differ exceedingly about, I ſhall leave it to decide itſelf.

But the greateſt piece of management which we find the Devil has concerned himſelf in of late, in the matter of religion, ſeems to be that of the miſſion into China; and here indeed Satan has acted his maſterpiece. It was, no doubt, much for his ſervice, that the Chineſe ſhould have no inſight into matters of religion, I mean that we call Chriſtian; and therefore, though Popery and the Devil are not at ſo much variance as ſome may imagine, yet he did not think it ſafe to let the general ſyſtem of Chriſtianity be heard of among them in China. Hence, when the name of the Chriſtian religion had but been received with ſome ſeeming approbation, in the country of Japan, Satan immediately, as if alarmed at the thing, and dreading what the conſequence of it might be, armed the Japaneſe againſt it with ſuch fury, that they expelled it at once.

It was much ſafer to his deſigns, when, if the ſtory be not

a fiction, he puts that Dutch witticiſm into the mouths of the States commanders, when they came to Japan; who, having more wit than to own themſelves chriſtians in ſuch a place as that, when the queſtion was put to them, anſwered negatively, that they were not; but that they were of another religion, called Hollanders.

However, it ſeems the diligent Jeſuits outwitted the Devil in China, and, as I ſaid above, overſhot him in his own bow; for the miſſion being in danger, by the Devil and the Chineſe Emperor's joining together, of being wholly expelled there too, as they had been in Japan, they cunningly fell in with the eccleſiaſtics of the country, and joining the prieſtcraft of both religions together, they brought Jeſus Chriſt and Confucius to be ſo reconcileable, that the Chineſe and Roman Idolatry, appeared capable of a confederacy, of going on hand in hand together; and conſequently of being very good friends.

This was a maſterpiece indeed, and, as they ſay, almoſt frightened Satan out of his wits; but he, being a ready manager, and particularly famous for ſerving himſelf of the rogueries of the prieſts, faced about immediately to the miſſion, and making a virtue of neceſſity, clapt in, with all poſſible alacrity, with the propoſal*; ſo the Jeſuits and he formed a hotch potch of religion, made up of Popery and Paganiſm, and calculated to leave the latter rather worſe than they found it, blending the faith of Chriſt and the philoſophy or morals of Confucius together, and formally chriſtening them by the name of religion; by which means the politic intereſt of the miſſion was preſerved: and yet Satan loſt not one inch of ground with the Chineſe, no, not by the planting the goſpel itſelf, ſuch as it was among them.

Nor has it been ſuch diſadvantage to him, that this plan or ſcheme of a new-modelled religion would not go down at Rome, and that the Inquiſition damned it with bell, book, and candle. Diſtance of place ſerved his new allies the miſſionaries, in the ſtead of a protection from the Inquiſition; and now and then a rich preſent, well placed, found them friends in the congregation itſelf; and were any nuncio with his impudent zeal, pretended to take ſuch a long voyage to oppoſe them, Satan took care to get him ſent back *re infecta*, or inſpired the miſſion to move him off the premiſes, by methods of their own; that is to ſay, being inrerpreted, to murder him.

Thus

* He never refuſed ſetting his hand to any opinion which he thought it for his intereſt to acknowledge.

Thus the miſſion has in itſelf been truly deviliſh, and the Devil has intereſted himſelf in the planting the Chriſtian religion in China.

The influence the Devil has in the politics of mankind, is another eſpecial part of his hiſtory, and would require, if it were poſſible, a very exact deſcription; but here we ſhall be neceſſarily obliged to enquire ſo nicely into the arcana of circumſtances, and unlock the cabinets of ſtate in ſo many courts canvaſs the councils of miniſters, and the conduct of princes ſo fully, and expoſe them ſo much, that it may perhaps make a combuſtion among the great politicians abroad; and in doing that, we may come ſo near home too, that though perſonal ſafety and prudentials forbid our meddling with our own country, we may be taken in a double intendre, and fall unpitied, for being only ſuſpected of touching truths that are ſo tender, whether we are guilty or no. On theſe accounts, I muſt meddle the leſs with that part, at leaſt for the preſent.

Be it that the Devil has had a ſhare in ſome of the late councils of Europe, influencing them this way or that way, to his own advantage: What is it to us? For example, What if he had any concern in the late affair of Thorn? What need we put it upon him, ſeeing his confederates the Jeſuits, with the aſſyſſorial tribunal of Poland, take it upon themſelves? I ſhall leave that part to the iſſue of time. I wiſh it were as eaſy to perſuade the world, that he had no hand in bringing the injured Proteſtants to leave the juſtice due to the cries of Proteſtant blood, to the arbitrement of a Popiſh power. Who dare ſay that the Devil muſt be in it, if juſtice ſhould be obtained that way? I ſhould rather ſay, the Devil is in it, or elſe it would never be expected.

It occurs next to inquire from the premiſſes, Whether the Devil has more influence or leſs in the affairs of the world now than he had in former ages? and this will depend upon comparing, as we go along, his methods and way of working in paſt times, and the modern politics by which he acts in our days, with the different reception which he has met with among the men of ſuch diſtant ages.

But there is ſo much to enquire of about the Devil, before we can bring his ſtory down to our modern times, that we muſt for the preſent let them drop, and look a little back to the remote parts of this hiſtory? drawing his picture, that people may know him when they meet him, and ſee who and what he is, and what he has been doing ever ſince he got leave to act in the high ſtation he now appears in.

In the mean time, if I might obtain leave to preſent an humble petition to Satan, it ſhould be, that he would, accordoing to modern uſage, oblige us all with writing the hiſtory of his own times? it would, as well as one that is gone before it, be a deviliſh good one; for as to the ſincerity of the performance, the authority of the particulars, the juſtice of the characters, &c. if they were no better vouched, no more conſiſtent with themſelves, with charity, with truth, and with the honour of a hiſtorian, than the laſt of that kind which came abroad among us, it muſt be a reproach to the Devil himſelf to be the author of it.

Were Satan to be brought under the leaſt obligation to write truth, and that the matters of fact which he ſhould write might be depended upon, he is certainly qualified by his knowledge of things to be a complete hiſtorian; nor could the biſhop himſelf, who, by the way, has given us already the Devil of an hiſtory, come up to him; Milton's Pandæmonium, though an excellent dramatic performance, would appear a mere trifling ſing ſong buſineſs, beneath the dignity of Chevy chace; the Devil could give us a true account of all the civil wars in heaven; how, and by whom, and in what manner, he loſt the day there, and was obliged to quit the field; the fiction of his refuſing to acknowledge and ſubmit to the Meſſiah, upon his being declared generaliſſimo of the heavenly forces, which Satan expected himſelf, as the eldeſt officer; and his not being able to brook another to be put in over his head; and I ſay, that fine ſpun thought of Mr Milton would appear to be ſtrained too far, and only ſerve to convince us that he (Milton) knew nothing of the matter. Satan knows very well that the Meſſiah was not declared to be the ſon of God with power, till by and after the reſurrection from the dead; and that all power was then given him in heaven and earth, and not before; ſo that Satan's rebellion muſt derive from other cauſes, and upon other occaſions, as he himſelf can doubtleſs give us an account if he thinks fit, and of which we ſhall ſpeak further in this work.

What a fine hiſtory might this old gentleman write, of the antediluvian world, and of all the weighty affairs, as well of ſtate as of religion, which happened during the fifteen hundred years of the patriarchal adminiſtration.

Who, like him, could give a full and complete account of the deluge, whether it was a mere vindictive, a blaſt from heaven, wrought by a ſupernatural power in the way of miracle or whether according to Mr Burnet's theory, it was a conſequence

quence following antecedent cauſes by the mere neceſſity of nature; ſeen in conſtitution, natural poſition, and unavoidable working of things, as by the theory, publiſhed by that learned enthuſiaſt, it ſeems to be?

Satan would eaſily account for all the difficulties of the theory, and tell us whether, as there was a natural neceſſity of the deluge, there is not the like neceſſity and natural tendency to a conflagration at laſt.

Would the Devil exert himſelf as an hiſtorian, for our improvement and diverſion, how glorious an account could he give of Noah's voyage round the world in the famous ark! He could reſolve all the difficulties about the building it, the furniſhing it, and the laying up the proviſion in it for all the collection of kinds that he had made; he could tell us whether all the creatures came volunteer to him to go into the ark, or whether he went a hunting for ſeveral years before, in order to bring them together.

He could give us a true relation how he wheedled the people of the next world into the abſurd ridiculous undertaking of building a Babel; how far that ſtupendous ſtair caſe which was in imaginatiou to reach up to heaven, was carried before it was interrupted, and the builders confounded; how their ſpeech was altered, how many tongues it was divided into; or whether they were divided at all: and how many ſubdiviſions or dialects have been ſince that, by which means very few of God's, creatures except the brutes, underſtand one another, or care one farthing whether they do or no.

In all theſe things, Satan who no doubt would make a very good chronologiſt, could ſettle every epocha, correct every kalendar, and bring all our accounts of time to a general agreement; as well as the Grecian Olympiades, the Turkiſh Heghira, the Chineſe fictitious account of the world's duration, as our blind Julian and Gregorian accounts, which have put the world to this day, into ſuch confuſion, that we neither agree in our holy days or working days, faſts or feaſts, nor keep the ſame Sabbaths in any part of the ſame globe.

This great antiquary could bring us to a certainty in all the difficulties of ancient ſtory, and tell us whether the tale of the ſiege of Troy, and the rape of Helen was a fable of Homer, or an hiſtory; whether the fictions of the poets are formed from their own brain, or founded in facts; and, whether letters were invented by Cadmus the Phœnician, or dictated immediately from heaven on mount Sinai.

CHAP

CHAP. II.

Of the original of the Devil, *who he is, and what he was before his expulſion out of heaven, and in what ſtate he was from that time to the creation of man.*

TO come to a regular inquiry into Satan's affairs, it is needful we ſhould go back to his original, as far as hiſtory and the opinion of the learned world will give us leave.—

It is agreed by all writers, as well ſacred as profane, that this creature we now call a Devil, was originally an angel of light, a glorious ſeraph; perhaps the choiceſt of all the glorious Seraphs. See how Milton deſcribes his original glory.

> Satan, ſo call him now; his former name
> Is heard no more in heaven: he of the firſt,
> If not the firſt archangel; great in power,
> In favour and pre-eminence. *Par. Loſt*, book v.

And again the ſame author, and upon the ſame ſubject;—

> ———Brighter once amidſt the hoſt
> Of angels, than that ſtar the ſtars among.
>
> *Ib.* book vii.

The glorious figure which Satan is ſuppoſed to make among the thrones and dominions in heaven, is ſuch as we might diſpoſe the higheſt angel in that exalted train could make;—and ſome think as above, that he was the chief of the archangels

Hence that notion (and not ill founded); namely that the firſt cauſe of his diſgrace, and on which enſued his rebellion, was occaſioned upon God's proclaiming his ſon generaliſſimo, and with himſelf ſupreme ruler in heaven: giving the dominion of all his works of creation, as well already finiſhed, as not then begun, to him; which poſt of honour (ſay they) Satan expected to be conferred on himſelf, as next in honour, majeſty and power, to God the ſupreme.

This opinion is followed by Mr Milton too, as appears in the following lines, where he makes all the angels attending a general ſummons, and God the Father making the following declaration to them;

> "Hear all ye angels, progeny of light,
> Thrones, dominions, princedoms, virtues, powers,
> Hear my decree, which unrevok'd ſhall ſtand
> This day I have begot whom I declare
> My only ſon: and on this holy hill
> Have him anointed; whom ye now behold
> At my right hand; your head I him appoint:
> And by myſelf have ſworn: to him ſhall bow

All knees in heav'n, and ſhall confeſs him lord;
Under his great vicegerent reign abide
United: as one individual ſoul:
For ever happy: him who diſobeys
Me diſobeys: breaks union; and that day
Caſt out from God; and bleſſed viſion; falls
Into utter darkneſs, deep ingulphed his place
Ordained without redemption, without end.

Satan, affronted at the appearance of a new eſſence or being n heaven, called the Son of God; for God, ſays Mr Milton, though erroneouſly) declared himſelf at that time, ſaying, *This ay have I begotten him*, and that he ſhonld be ſet up above all he former powers of heaven, of whom Satan (as above) was he chief, and expecting, if any higher poſt could be granted, might be his due; I ſay, affronted at this he reſolved

With all his legions to diſlodge, and leave
Unworſhipped, unobeyed, the throne ſupreme
Contemptuons—— *Par Loſt*, book v,

But Mr Milton is groſsly erroneous in aſcribing thoſe words, *his day have I begotten thee*, to that declaration of the Father efore Satan fell, and conſequently to a time before the crea- ion; whereas it is by interpreters agreed to be underſtood of he incarnation of the Son of God, or at leaſt of the reſurrec- ion*: See Pool upon Acts xiii. 33.

In a word, Satan withdrew with all his followers malcon- ent and chagrin, reſolved to diſobey this new command, and ot yield obedience to the Son.

But Mr Milton agrees in that opinion, that the number of ngels which rebelled with Satan was infinite; and ſuggeſts n one place that they were the greateſt half of all the angel ody, or ſeraphic hoſt,

"——But Satan with his powers
——" An hoſt
" Innumerable as the ſtars of night,
" Or ſtars of morning, dew-drops, which the ſun
" Imperial on ev'ry leaf, and ev'ry flower."

Par. Loſt, book v.

Be

* Mr Pool's words are theſe: Some refer the words, This day have begotten thee, to the incarnation of the Son of God, others to the reſur- ection; our tranſlators lay the ſtreſs on the prepoſition of which the erb is compounded, and by adding again, (viz) raiſed up Jeſus again, cts xiii 33 intended it to be underſtood of the reſurrection; and there ground for it in the context; for the reſurrection of Chriſt is that hich St Paul had propounded in v 30 of the ſame chapter, as his theme argument to preach upon Not that Chriſt at his reſurrection began be the Son of God, but that he was manifeſted then to be ſo

Be their number as it is, numberleſs millions, and legions of millions, that is no part of my preſent enquiry; Satan the leader, guide and Superior, as he was author of the celeſtial rebellion, is ſtill the great head and maſter Devil as before; under his authority they ſtill act, not obeying, but carrying on the ſame inſurrection againſt God which they began in heaven; making war ſtill againſt heaven, in the perſon of his image and creature man; and though vanquiſhed by the thunder of the Son of God, and caſt down headlong from heaven, they have yet reaſſumed, or rather not loſt, either the will or the power of doing evil.

This fall of the angels, with the war in heaven which preceded it, is finely deſcribed by Ovid, in his war of the Titans againſt Jupiter; caſting mountain upon mountain, and hill upon hill (Pelion upon Oſſa) in order to ſcale the adamantine walls, and break open the gates of heaven, till Jupiter ſtruck them with his thunder-bolts, and overwhelmed them in the Abyſs.

Vide Ovid Metam. new traſlation, lib. 1. p. 19.

" Nor were the Gods themſelves ſecure on high
" For now the giants ſtrove to ſtorm the ſky:
" The lawleſs brood with bold attempt invade
" *The Gods*, and mountains upon mountains laid
" But now the bolt, enrag'd, the father took;
" Olympus from her deep foundations ſhook:
" Her ſtructure nodded at the mighty ſtroke,
" And Oſſa's ſhatter'd top o'er Pelion broke:
" They're in their own ungodly ruin ſlain.——

Then again, ſpeaking of Jupiter, reſolving in council to deſtroy mankind by the deluge, and giving the reaſons of it to the heavenly hoſt; ſays thus, ſpeaking of the demigods, alluding to good men below:

" Think you that they in ſafety can remain,
" When me myſelf, who o'er immortals reign.
" Who ſend the lightning, and heav'n's empire ſway,
" The ſtern * Lycaon practis'd to betray? Ib. p 10

Since then ſo much poetic liberty is taken with the Devil, relating to his moſt early ſtate, and the time before his fall, give me leave to make an excurſion of the like kind relating to his hiſtory immediately after the fall, and till the creation of man; an interval which I think much of the Devil's ſtory is to be ſeen in, and which, Mr Milton has taken little notice of

* Satan

of: at leaſt it does not ſeem completely filled up; after which I ſhall return to honeſt proſe again, and purſue the duty of an hiſtorian.

Satan, with hideous ruin thus ſuppreſt,
Expell'd the ſeat of bleſſedneſs and reſt,
Look'd back, and ſaw the high eternal mound,
Where all his rebel hoſt their outlet found.
Reſtor'd impregnable: The breach made up,
And garriſons of angels rang'd a-top:
In front an hundred thouſand thunders roll,
And lightnings temper'd to tranſfix a ſoul.
Terror of Devils. Satan and his hoſt,
Now to themſelves as well as ſtation loſt,
Unable to ſupport the hated ſight
Expand ſeraphic wings, and ſwift as light
Seek for new ſafety in eternal night.
In the remoteſt gulphs of dark they land:
Here vengeance gives them leave to make their ſtand:
Not that to ſteps and meaſures they pretend,
Councils and ſchemes their ſtation to defend;
But broken, diſconcerted, and diſmay'd;
By guilt and fright to guilt and fright betrayed:
Rage and confuſion ev'ry ſpirit poſſeſs'd,
And ſhame and horror ſwell'd in ev'ry breaſt;
Transforming envy their eſſentials burns
And the bright angel a frightful devil turns.
Thus hell began; the fire of conſcious rage
No years can quench, no length of time aſſuage.
Material fire, with its intenſeſt flame,
Compar'd with this can ſcarce deſerve a name;
How ſhould it up to immaterials riſe?
When we're all flame, we ſhall all fire deſpiſe.
This fire outrageous and its heat intenſe,
Turns all the pain of loſs to pain of ſenſe,
The folding flames concave and inward roll,
Act upon ſpirit and penetrate the ſoul:
Not force of devils can its new pow'rs repel,
Where'er it burns it finds or makes a HELL;
For Satan, flaming with unquench'd deſire,
Forms his own hell, and kindles his own fire:
Vanquiſh'd not humbled, not in will brought low;
But, as his powr's decline, his paſſions grow:
The malice, viper like takes vent within,
Gnaws its own bowels, and burſts in its own ſin:
Impatient of the change he ſcorns to bow;
And never impotent in pow'r till now;
Ardent with hate, and with revenge diſtract
A will to new attempts but none to act;
Yet all ſeraphic and in juſt degree
Suited to ſpirits high ſenſe of miſery

Deriv'd from loſs which nothing can repair;
And room for nothing left but mere deſpair.
Here's finiſh'd hell! what fiercer fire can burn
Enough ten thouſand worlds to overturn.
HELL's but the phrenſy of defeated pride,
Seraphic treaſon's ſtrong impetuous tide,
Where vile ambition diſappointed firſt,
To its own rage, and boundleſs hatred curs'd;
The heat's fann'd up to fury, that to flame;
For fire and fury are in kind the ſame;
Theſe burn unquenchable in ev'ry face,
And the word ENDLESS conſtitutes the place.
O ſtate of being! where being's the only grief,
And the chief torture's to be damned to life!
O life! the only thing they have to hate;
The finiſh'd torment of a future ſtate;
Complete in all the parts of endleſs miſery,
And worſe ten thouſand times than not to BE!
Could but the damn'd the immortal law repeal,
And devils die, there'd be an end of hell;
Could they that thing call'd being annihilate
There'd be no ſorrows in a future ſtate;
The wretch whoſe crimes had ſhut him out on high
Could be revenged on GOD himſelf, and die:
Job's wife was in the right, and always we
Might end by death all human miſery;
Might have it in our choice, to be or not to be

CHAP. III.

Of the name of the Devil, *his original, and the nature of his circumſtances, ſince he has been called by that name.*

THE Scripture is the firſt writing on earth where we find the Devil called by his own proper diſtinguiſhing denomination, *Devil*, or the * deſtroyer; nor indeed is there any other author of antiquity, or of ſufficient authority, which ſays any thing of that kind about him.

Here he makes his firſt appearance in the world, and on that occaſion he is called the Serpent; but the ſerpent, however ſince made to ſignify the Devil, when ſpoken of in general terms, was but the Devil's repreſentative, or the Devil in *quovis vehiculo*, for that time clothed in a bodily ſhape, acting under cover, and in diſguiſe, or, if you will, the Devil in maſquerade: Nay, if we believe Mr Milton, the angel Gabriel's ſpear

* The meaning of the word devil is deſtroyer See Pool upon Acts xiii 10

pear had ſuch a ſecret powerful influence, as to make him rip of a ſudden, and with a touch to unmaſk, and ſtand up-ight in his naked original ſhape, mere Devil, without any diſ-uiſe whatſoever.

Now, as we go to the Scripture for much of his hiſtory, ſo e muſt go there alſo for ſome of his names; and he has a reat variety of names indeed, as his ſeveral miſchevious do-ngs guide us to conceive of him. The truth is; all the an-ient names given him, of which the Scripture is full, ſeem to e originals derived from, and adapted to the ſeveral ſteps he as taken, and the ſeveral ſhapes he has appeared in, to do iſchiefs in the world.

Here he is called the Serpent, Gen. iii. 1.
The old Serpent, Rev. xii. 9.
The great Red Dragon, Rev. xii. 3.
The Accuſer of the Brethren, Rev. xii. 10.
The Enemy, Matth. xiii. 39.
Satan, Job i. Zech. iii. 1, 2.
Belial, 2 Cor. vi. 15.
Beelzebub, Matth. xii. 24.
Mammon, Matth. vi. 24.
The Angel of Light, 2 Cor. xi. 14.
The Angel of the Bottomleſs Pit, Rev. ix. 11.
The Prince of the Power of the Air, Eph. ii. 2.
Lucifer, Iſa. xiv. 12.
Abaddon or Appollyon, Rev. ix. 11.
Legion, Mark v. 9.
The God of this World, 2 Cor. iv. 4.
The Foul Spirit, Mark ix. 25.
The Unclean Spirit, Mark i. 27.
The Lying Spirit, 2 Chron. xxx.
The Tempter, Matth. iv. 3.
The Son of the Morning, Iſa. xiv. 12.

But to ſum them all up in one, he is called in the New eſtement plain Devil. All his other names are varied accor-ng to the cuſtom of ſpeech, and the dialects of the ſeveral tions where he is ſpoken of: but, in a word, Devil is the mmon name of the Devil in all the known languages of the rth. Nay, all the miſchiefs he is empowered to do, are in ripture placed to his account, under the particular title of e Devil, not of Devils in the plural number, though they e ſometimes mentioned two; but in the ſingular, it is the i-

dentical individual Devil, in and under whom all the little Devils, and all the great Devils, if ſuch their be, are ſuppoſed to act; nay, they are ſuppoſed to be governed and directed by him. Thus we are told in Scripture of the works of the Devil, 1 John iii. 8.; , of caſting out the Devil, Mark i. 34; of reſiſting the Devil, James iv. 7.; of our Saviour being tempted of the Devil, Matth. iv. 1.; of Simon Magus, a child of the Devil, Acts xiii. 10. The Devil came down in great wrath, Rev. xii. 12 and the like. According to this uſage of ſpeech we go on to this day; and in all the infernal things we converſe with in the world are fathered upon the Devil, as one undivided ſimple eſſence, by how many agents ſoever working. Every thing evil is frightful in appearance, wicked in its actings, horrible in its manner, monſtrous in its effects, is called the Devil; in a word, Devil is the common name for all devils, that is to ſay, for all evil ſpirits, all evil powers, all evil works, and even all evil things; yet it is remarkable, the Devil is no Old Teſtement word; and we never find it uſed in all that part of the Bible but four times, and then not once in the ſingular number; and not once, to ſignify Satan as it is now underſtood.

It is true, the learned give a great many different interpretations of the word Devil. The Engliſh commentators tell us, it means a deſtroyer; others that it ſignifies a deceiver; and the Greeks derive it from *calumniator*, or falſe witneſs; for we find that Calumny was a goddeſs, to whom the Athenians built altars, and offered ſacrifices, upon ſolemn occaſions; and they call her *Diabule* from whence came the maſculine *Diabolus* which we tranſlate Devil.

Thus we take the name of Devil to ſignify not perſons only, but actions and habits; making imaginary devils, and transforming that ſubſtantial creature called Devil, into every thing noxious and offenſive. Thus St. Francis, being tempted by the Devil in the ſhape of a bag of money lying in the highway, and the ſaint having diſcovered the fraud; whether ſeeing his cloven foot hang out of the purſe, or whether he diſtinguiſhed him by his ſmell of ſulphur, or how otherways, authors are not agreed; but I ſay, the ſaint having diſcovered the cheat, and outwitted the Devil, took occaſion to preach that eminent ſermon to his diciples, where his text was *Money is the Devil.*

Nor, upon the whole, is any wrong done to the Devil by this kind of treatment: it only gives him the ſovereignty of the whole

whole army of hell; and, making all the numberleſs legions of the bottomleſs pit ſervants, or, as the Scriptures calls them, angels to Satan the grand Devil, all their actions, performances, and atchievements, are juſtly attributed to him, not as Prince of Devils only, but the Emperor of Devils,—the Prince of all the Princes of Devils.

Under this denomination then of Devil, all the powers of hell, all the Princes of the air, all the black armies of Satan, are comprehended; and in ſuch manner they are to be underſtood in this whole work, *mutatis mutandis*, according to the ſeveral circumſtances of which we are to ſpeak of them.

This being premiſed, and my authority being ſo good, Satan muſt not take it ill, if I treat him after the manner of men, and give him thoſe titles which he is beſt known by among us; for indeed, having ſo many, it is not very eaſy to call him out of his name.

However, as I am obliged, by the duty of an hiſtorian, to decency as well as impartiality, ſo I thought it neceſſary, before I uſed too much freedom with Satan, to produce authentic documents, and bring antiquity, upon the ſtage, to juſtify the manner of my writing, and let you ſee I ſhall deſcribe him in no other colours, nor call him by any name, but what he has been known by for many ages before me.

And now, though writing to the common underſtanding of my readers, I am obliged to treat Satan very coarſely, and to ſpeak of him in the common acceptation, calling him plain Devil, a word which, in this mannerly age, is not ſo ſonorous as others might be, and which, by the error of the times, is apt to prejudice us againſt his perſon; yet it muſt be acknowledged, he has a great many other names and ſurnames which he might be known by, of a leſs noxious import than that of Devil or Deſtroyer, &c.

Mr Milton indeed, wanting titles of honour to give to the leaders of Satan's hoſt, is obliged to borrow ſeveral of his Scripture-names, and beſtow them upon his infernal heroes, whom he makes the generals and leaders of the armies of hell; and ſo he makes Beelzebub, Lucifer, Belial, Mammon, and ſome others, to be the names of particular Devils, members of Satan's upper-houſe or Pandæmonium: whereas, indeed, theſe are all names proper and peculiar to Satan himſelf.

The Scripture alſo has ſome names of a coarſer kind, by which the Devil is underſtood, as particularly, which is noted already, in the Apocalypſe, he is called the Great Red Dra-

gon, the Beaſt, the Old Serpent, and the like: But take it in the Scripture, or where you will in hiſtory, ſacred or profane, you will find that, in general, the Devil is, as I have ſaid above, his ordinary name in all languages, and in all nations; the name by which he and his works are principally diſtinguiſhed. Alſo the Scripture, beſides that it often gives him this name, ſpeaks of the works of the Devil, of the ſubtility of the Devil, of caſting out Devils, of being tempted of the Devil, of being poſſeſſed with a Devil; and ſo many other expreſſions of that kind, as I have ſaid already, are made uſe of, for us to underſtand the evil ſpirit by, that in a word. Devil is the common name of all wicked ſpirits; for Satan is no more the Devil, as if he alone were ſo, and all the reſt were a diminutive Species, who did not go by that name; but I ſay, even in Scripture, every ſpirit, whether under his dominion, or out of his dominion, is called the Devil; and is as much a real devil, that is to ſay, a condemned ſpirit, and employed in the ſame wicked work as Satan himſelf.

His name then being thus aſcertained, and his exiſtence acknowledged, it ſhould be a little inquired what he is. We believe there is ſuch a thing, ſuch a creature as the Devil; and that he has been and may ſtill, with propriety of ſpeech, and without injuſtice to his character, be called by his ancient name, Devil.

But who is he? What is his original? Whence came he? And what is his preſent ſtation and condition? For theſe things, and theſe inquiries, are very neceſſary to his hiſtory; nor indeed can any part of his hiſtory be complete without them.

That he is of an ancient and noble original muſt be acknowledged; for he is heaven-born, and of angelic race, as has been touched already. If Scripture evidence may be of any weight in the queſtion, there is no room to doubt the genealogy of the Devil. He is not only ſpoken of as an angel, but as a fallen angel; one that had been in heaven, had beheld the face of God in his full effulgence of glory, and ſurrounded the throne of the Moſt High; from whence, commencing rebel, and being expelled, he was caſt down, down, down, God and the Devil himſelf only know where: for indeed we cannot ſay that any man on earth knows it: and wherever he is, he has ever ſince man's creation, been a plague to him; been a tempter, a deluder, a calumniator, and enemy, and the object of man's horror and averſion.

As

As his original is heaven-born, and his race angelic ſo the angelic nature is evidently placed in a claſs ſuperior to the human; and this the Scripture is expreſs in alſo, when ſpeaking of man, it ſays, He made him a little lower than the angels.

Thus the Devil, as mean thoughts as ye may have of him, is of a better family than any of you; nay, then the beſt gentlemen of you all. What ye may be fallen to, is one thing; but what he is fallen from is another; and therefore, I muſt tell my learned and reverend friend J. W. L. L. D. when he ſpoke ſo rudely of the Devil lately that in my opinion he abuſed his betters.

Nor is the Scripture more an help to us in the ſearch after the Devil's original, than it is in our ſearch after his nature. It is true, authors are not agreed about his age, what time he was created, how many years he enjoyed his ſtate of bleſſedneſs before he fell, or how many years he continued with his whole army in the ſtate of darkneſs, and before the creation of man. It is ſuppoſed he might be a conſiderable ſpace; and that it was part of his puniſhment too, being all the while inactive, unemployed, having no buſineſs, nothing to do but gnawing his own bowels, and rolling in the agony of his own ſelf reproaches, being an hell to himſelf, in reflecting on the glorious ſtate from whence he was fallen.

How long he remained thus, it is true, we have no light into from hiſtory, and but little from tradition, Rabb Judah ſays, the Jews were of opinion, that he remained twenty thouſand years in that condition; and that the world would continue twenty thouſand more, in which he ſhall find work enough to ſatisfy his miſchievous deſires: but he ſhews no authority for his opinion.

Indeed let the Devil have been as idle as they think he was before, it muſt be acknowledged, that now he is the moſt buſy, vigilant, and diligent of all God's creatures, and very full of employment too, ſuch as it is.

Scripture indeed gives us light into the enmity there is between the two natures, the diaboheal and the human; the reaſon of it, and how and by what means the power of the Devil is reſtrained by the Meſſiah; and to thoſe who are willing to truſt to goſpel light, and believe what the Scripture ſays of the Devil, there may much of his hiſtory be diſcovered; and therefore thoſe that liſt, may go there for a fuller account of the matter.

But

But to reſerve all Scripture evidence of theſe things, as a magazine in ſtore for the uſe of thoſe with whom Scripture teſtimony is of force; I muſt, for the preſent, turn to other inquiries, being now directing my ſtory to an age, wherein, to be driven to revelation and ſcripture aſſertions, is eſteemed giving up the diſpute, People now a-days muſt have demonſtration; and, in a word, nothing will ſatisfy the age, but ſuch evidence as perhaps the nature of the queſtion will not admit.

It is hard indeed, to bring demonſtrations in ſuch a caſe as this "No man has ſeen God at any time," ſays the ſcripture, 1 John iv. 2. So the Devil, being a ſpirit incorporeal, an angel of light, and conſequently not viſible in his own ſubſtance, nature, and form, it may in ſome ſenſe be ſaid, No man hath ſeen the Devil at any time. All thoſe pretences of phrenſical and fanciful people, who tell us they have ſeen the Devil, I ſhall examine and, perhaps, expoſe by themſelves.

It might take up a great deal of our time here to inquire, whether the Devil has any particular ſhape, or perſonality of ſubſtance, which can be viſible to us, felt, heard, or underſtood and which he cannot alter; and then, what ſhapes or appearances the Devil has at any time taken upon him; and whether he can really appear in a body which might be handled and ſeen, and yet ſo as to know it to have been the Devil at the time of his appearing: but this alſo I defer, as not of weight in the preſent inquiry.

We have divers accounts of witches converſing with the Devil; the Devil in a real body, with all the appearances of a body of a man or woman appearing to them: alſo of having a familiar, as they call it, an incubus or little Devil, which ſucks their bodies, runs away with them into the air, and the like. Much of this is ſaid; but much more than it is eaſy to prove: and we ought to give but a juſt proportion of credit to thoſe things.

As to his borrowed ſhapes and his ſubtle transformings, that we have ſuch open teſtimony of, that there is no room for any queſtion about it; and when I come to that part, I ſhall be obliged rather to give a hiſtory of the fact, than enter into any diſſertation upon the nature and reaſon of it.

I do not find, in any author whom we can call ceditable, that even in thoſe countries where the dominion of Satan is more particularly eſtabliſhed, and where they may be ſaid to worſhip him in a more particular manner as a Devil; which ſome tell us the Indians in America did, who worſhipped the

Devil,

Devil, that he might not hurt them; yet I ſay, I do not find, that even there the Devil appear to them in any particular conſtant ſhape or perſonality peculiar to himſelf.

Scripture and hiſtory therefore giving us no light into that part of the queſtion, I conclude, and lay it down, not as my opinion only, but as what all ages ſeem to concur in, that the Devil has no particular body; that he is a ſpirit; and that though he may, Proteus like, aſſume the appearance of either man or beaſt, yet it muſt be ſome borrowed ſhape, ſome aſſumed figure, *pro hac vice;* and that he has no viſible body of his own.

I thought it needful to diſcuſs this as a preliminary, and that the next diſcourſe might go upon a certainty in this grand point; namely, that the Devil, however he may, for his particular occaſions, put himſelf into a great many ſhapes, and clothe himſelf, perhaps, with what appearances he pleaſes, yet that he is himſelf ſtill a mere ſpirit, that he retains a ſeraphic nature, is not viſible by our eyes, which are human and organic, neither can he act with the ordinary powers, or in the ordinary manner as bodies do; and therefore, when he has thought fit to deſcend to the meanneſſes of diſturbing and frightening children and old women, by noiſes and knockings, diſlocating the chairs and ſtools, breaking windows, and ſuch like little ambulatory things, which would ſeem to be below the dignity of his character, and which, in particular, are ordinarily performed by organic powers; yet even then he has thought fit not to be ſeen, or rather to make the poor people believe he had a real ſhape and body, with hands to act, mouth to ſpeak, and the like, than to give proof of it in common to the whole world, by ſhewing himſelf, and acting viſibly and openly, as a body uſually and ordinarily does.

Nor is it any diſadvantage, to the Devil, that his ſeraphic nature is not confined or impriſoned in a body or ſhape, ſuppoſe that ſhape to be what monſtrous thing we would; for this would, indeed, confine his actings within the narrow ſphere of the organ or body to which he was limited: and though you were to ſuppoſe the body to have wings for a velocity of motion equal to a ſpirit, yet, if it had not a power of inviſibility too, and a capacity of conveying himſelf, undiſcovered, into all the ſecret receſſes of mankind, and the ſame ſecret art, or capacity of inſinuation, ſuggeſtion, accuſation, &c. by which his wicked deſigns are now propagated, and all his other devices aſſiſted, by which he deludes and betrays mankind; I ſay, he would

would be no more a Devil, that is, a deſtroyer,—no more a deceiver, and no more a Satan, that is, a dangerous arch-enemy to the ſouls of men; nor would it be any difficulty to mankind to ſhun and avoid him, as I ſhall make plain in the other part of his hiſtory.

Had the Devil from the beginning been embodied, as he could not have been inviſible to us, whoſe ſouls, equally ſeraphic, are only preſcribed by being embodied and incaſed in fleſh and blood as we are; ſo he would have been no more a Devil to any body but himſelf. The impriſonment in a body, had the powers of that body been all that we can conceive to make him formidable to us, would yet have been an hell to him. Conſider him as a conquered exaſperated rebel, retaining all that fury and ſwelling ambition, that hatred of God, and envy at his creatures, which dwells now in his enraged ſpirit as a Devil; yet ſuppoſe him to have been condemned to organic powers, confined to corporeal motion, and reſtrained, as a body muſt be ſuppoſed to reſtrain a ſpirit; it muſt, at the ſame time, ſuppoſe him to be effectually diſabled from all the methods he is now allowed to make uſe of, for exerting his rage and enmity againſt God, any further than as he might ſuppoſe it to affect his maker at ſecond-hand, by wounding his glory through the ſides of his weakeſt creature, man.

He muſt certainly be thus confined, becauſe body can only act upon body, not upon ſpirit; no ſpecies being impowered to act out of the compaſs of its own ſphere. He might have been impowered, indeed to have acted terrible, and even deſtructive things upon mankind, eſpecially if this body had any powers given it which mankind had not, by which man would be overmatched, and not be in a condition of ſelf-defence. For example, ſuppoſe him to have had wings to have flown in the air, or to be invulnerable, and that no human invention, art, or engine, could hurt, enſnare, captivate, or reſtrain him.

But this is to ſuppoſe the righteous and wiſe Creator to have made a creature, and not be able to defend and preſerve him; or to have left him defenceleſs to the mercy of another of his own creatures, whom he had given power to deſtroy him. This indeed might have occaſioned a general idolatry, and made mankind as the Americans do to this day, worſhip the Devil, that he might not hurt them: but it could not have prevented the deſtruction of mankind, ſuppoſing the Devil to have had malice equal to his power: and he muſt put on a new nature, be compaſſionate, generous, beneficent, and

ſteadily

readily good, in ſparing the rival enemy he was able to deſtroy, or he muſt have ruined mankind. In ſhort, he muſt have ceaſed to have been a Devil, and muſt have re-aſſumed his original, angelic, heavenly nature; have been filled with the principles of love to, and delight in the works of his Creator, and bent to propagate his glory and intereſt; or he muſt have put an end to the race of man, whom it would be in his power to deſtroy, and oblige his Maker to create a new ſpecies, or fortify the old with ſome kind of defence, which muſt be invulnerable, and which his fiery darts could not penetrate.

On this occaſion, ſuffer me to make an excurſion from the uſual ſtile of this work, and with ſome ſolemnity to expreſs my thoughts thus:

How glorious is the Wiſdom and goodneſs of the great Creator of the world! in thus reſtraining theſe ſeraphic CUTCASTS from the power of aſſuming human or organic bodies! which, could they do, invigorating them with the ſupernatural powers, which as ſeraphs and angels, they now poſſeſs, and might exert, they would be able even to fright mankind from the face of the earth, and to deſtroy and confound GOD'S creation. Nay. even as they are, were not their power limited, they might deſtroy the creation itſelf, reverſe and over-turn nature, and put the world into a general conflagration. But were thoſe immortal ſpirits embodied, though they were not permitted to confound nature, they would be able to harraſs poor, weak, and defenceleſs man out of his wits, and render him perfectly uſeleſs, either to his Maker or himſelf.

But the Dragon is chained; the Devil's power is limited. He has indeed, a vaſtly extended empire, being Prince of the Air, having at leaſt the whole atmoſphere to range in; and how far that atmoſphere is extended, is not yet aſcertained by the niceſt obſervations. I ſay at leaſt, becauſe we do not yet know how far he may be allowed to make excurſions beyond the atmoſphere of this globe into the planetary worlds, and what power he may exerciſe in all the habitable parts of the ſolar ſyſtem; nay, of all the other ſolar ſyſtems, which, for ought we know, may exiſt in the mighty extent of created ſpace, and of which you may hear farther in its order.

But let his power be what it will there, we are ſure it is limited here, and that in two particulars: *First*, He is limited as above, from aſſuming a body, or bodily ſhapes, with ſubſtance; and *ſecondly*, From exerting ſeraphic powers, and acting with that ſupernatural force, which as an angel, he was

certainly

certainly veſted with before the Fall, and which we are not certain is yet taken from him; or, at moſt, we do not know how much it may or may not be diminiſhed, by his degeneracy, and by the blow given him at his expulſion. This we are certain, that be his power greater or leſs, he is reſtrained from exerciſe of it in this world; and he, who was once equal to the angel who killed 180,000 men in one night, is not able now, without a new commiſſion, to take away the life of one Job nor touch any thing he had.

But let us conſider him then limited and reſtrained as he is, yet he remains a mighty, a terrible, an immortal being; infinitely ſuperior to man, as well in the dignity of his nature, as in the dreadful powers he retains ſtill about him. It is true the brain-ſick heads of our enthuſiaſtics paint him blacker than he is; and as I have ſaid, wickedly repreſent him cloathed with terrors that do not really belong to him; as if the power of good and evil was wholly veſted in him, and that he was placed in the throne of his Maker, to diſtribute both puniſhments and rewards: in this they are much wrong, terrifying and deluding fanciful people about him, till they turn their heads, and fright them into a belief that the Devil will let them alone, if they do ſuch and ſuch good things; or carry them away with him they know not whether, if they do not; as if the Devil, whoſe proper buſineſs is miſchief, ſeducing and deluding mankind, and drawing them in to be rebels like himſelf, ſhould threaten to ſeize upon them, carry them away, and in a word, fall upon them to hurt them, if they did evil; and, on the contrary, be favourable and civil to them, if they did well.

Thus a poor deluded country fellow in our town, that had lived a wicked, abominable, debauch'd life, was frighted with an apparition, as he called it, of the Devil: He fancied that he ſpoke to him, and, telling his tale to a good honeſt Chriſtian gentleman his neighbour, that had a little more ſenſe than himſelf; the gentleman aſked him if he was ſure he really ſaw the Devil? Yes, yes, Sir, ſays he, I ſaw him very plain. And ſo they began the following diſcourſe:

Gent. See him! ſee the Devil! art thou ſure of it Thomas?

Tho. Yes, yes, I am ſure enough of it maſter; to be ſure 'twas the Devil.

Gent. And how do you know it was the Devil Thomas? Had you ever ſeen the Devil before?

Tho.

Tho. No, no, I had never ſeen him before, to be ſure; but, for all that I know 'twas the Devil.

Gent. Well, if you're ſure, Thomas, there's no contradicting you; pray what cloaths had he on?

Tho. Nay, Sir, don't jeſt with me; he had no cloaths on; he was cloathed with fire and brimſtone.

Gent. Was it dark or day light when you ſaw him?

Tho. O! it was very dark, for it was midnight.

Gent. How could you ſee him then? did you ſee by the light of the fire you ſpeak of?

Tho. No, no, he gave no light himſelf; but I ſaw him for all that.

Gent. But was it within doors, or out in the ſtreet;

Tho. It was within, it was in my own chamber when I was juſt going into bed, that I ſaw him.

Gent. Well then, you had a candle, had'nt you?

Tho. Yes I had a candle; but it burnt as blue! and as dim!

Gent. Well, but if the Devil was cloathed with fire and brimſtone, he muſt give you ſome light; there can't be ſuch a fire as you ſpeak of, but it muſt give a light with it.

Tho. No, no, he gave no light, but I ſmelt his fire and brimſtone; he left a ſmell of it behind him, when he was gone.

Gent. Well, ſo you ſay he had fire, but gave no light: it was a deviliſh fire indeed; did it feel warm? was the room hot while he was in it?

Tho. No, no, but I was hot enough without it, for it put me into a great ſweat with the fright.

Gent. Very well, he was all in fire, you ſay, but without light or heat: only, it ſeems, he ſtunk of brimſtone; pray what ſhape was he in? what was he like? for you ſay you ſaw him.

Tho. O! Sir, I ſaw two great ſtaring ſaucer-eyes, enough to fright any body out of their wits.

Gent. And was that all you ſaw?

Tho. No, I ſaw his cloven foot very plain, 'twas as big as one of your bullock's that goes to plough.

Gent. So you ſaw none of his body, but his eyes and his feet? a fine viſion indeed!

Tho. Sir, that was enough to ſend me going.

Gent. Going! what did you run away from him?

Tho. No, but I fled into bed at one jump, and ſunk down, and pulled the bed-cloaths quite over me.

Gent. And what did you that for?

Tho. To hide myſelf from ſuch a frightful creature.

Gent. Why, if it had really been the Devil, do you think the bed-cloaths would have ſecured you from him?

Tho. Nay, I don't know; but in a fright it was all I could do.

Gent. Nay, 'twas as wiſe as all the reſt; but come, Thomas, to be a little ſerious, pray did he ſpeak to you?

Tho. Yes, yes, I heard a voice; but who it was the Lord knows.

Gent. What kind of voice was it? Was it like a man's voice?

Tho. No, it was a hoarſe ugly noiſe, like the croaking of a frog; and it called me by my name, twice, Thomas Dawſon, Thomas Dawſon?

Gent. Well, did you anſwer?

Tho. No, not I, I could not have ſpoke a word for my life; why, I was frighted to death.

Gent. Did it ſay any thing elſe?

Tho. Yes, when it ſaw that I did not ſpeak. It ſaid, "Thomas Dawſon, Thomas Dawſon! you are a wicked wretch, "you lay with Jenny S—— laſt night; if you don't repent, "I will take you away alive and carry you to hell, and you "ſhall be damn'd, you wretch."

Gent. And was it true, Thomas? did you lie with Jenny S—— the night before?

Tho. Indeed, maſter, why, yes it was true; but I was very ſorry afterwards.

Gent. But how ſhould the Devil know it, Thomas?

Tho. Nay, he knows it to be ſure; why they ſay he knows every thing.

Gent. Well, but why ſhould he be angry at that? He would rather bid you lie with her again, and encourage you to lie with forty whores, than hinder you: this can't be the Devil Thomas.

Tho. Yes, yes, Sir 'twas the Devil to be ſure,

Gent. But he bid you repent too, you ſay?

Tho. Yes, he threatened me if I did not.

Gent. Why, Thomas, did you think the Devil would have you repent?

Tho. Why no, that's true too; I don't know what to ſay to that; but what could it be? 'Twas the Devil to be ſure, it could be nobody elſe.

Gent. No, no 'twas neither the Devil, Thomas, nor any body

y elſe, but your own frighted imagination; you had lain ith that wench, and being a young ſinner of that kind, your onſcience terrified you, told you the Devil would fetch you way, and you would be damn'd: and you were ſo perſuaded t would be ſo, that you at laſt imagined he was come for you ndeed: that you ſaw him, and heard him; whereas, you may epend upon it, if Jenny S—— will let you lie with her every ight, the Devil will hold the candle, or do any thing to for- ward it, but will never diſturb you; he's too much a friend to our wickedneſs; it could never be the Devil, Thomas; 'twas nly your own guilt frighted you, and that was Devil enough o, if you knew the worſt of it, you need no other enemy.

Tho. Why, that's true maſter; one would think the Devil hould not bid me repent, that's true; but certainly 'twas the Devil for all that.

Now Thomas was not the only man that, having commit- ed a flagitious crime, had been deluded by his own imagina- on, and the power of fancy, to think the Devil was come r him; whereas the Devil, to give him his due, is too honeſt pretend to ſuch things; 'tis his buſineſs to perſuade men offend, not to repent; and he profeſſes no other: He may reſs men to this or that action, by telling them 'tis no ſin, no fence no breach of God's law, and the like, when really 'tis oth; but to preſs them to repent, when they have offended, at's quite out of the way; 'tis none of his buſineſs, nor does pretend to it: therefore, let no man charge the Devil with hat he is not concerned in.

But to return to his perſon; he is, as I have ſaid, notwith- anding his loſt glory, a mighty, a terrible, and an immortal irit; he is himſelf called a Prince, the Prince of the Power the Air, the Prince of Darkneſs, the Prince of Devils, and e like; and his attending ſpirits are called his angels: ſo that owever Satan has loſt the glory and rectitude of his nature, his apoſtate ſtate, yet he retains a greatneſs and magnifi- nce, which places him above our rank, and indeed above our nception; for we know not what he is, any more than we ow what the bleſſed angels are; of whom we can ſay no ore, than that they are miniſtring ſpirits, &c. as the Scrip- re has deſcribed them.

Two things, however, may give us ſome inſight into the ture of the Devil, in the preſent ſtate he is in, and theſe we ve a clear diſcovery of in the whole ſeries of his conduct om the beginning.

1. That

1. That he is the vanquiſh'd, but implacable enemy of God, his Creator, who has conquered him, and expelled him from the habitations of bliſs; on which account he is filled with envy, rage, malice, and all uncharitableneſs; would dethrone God and overturn the throne of heaven, if it was in his power.

2. That he is man's irreconcileable enemy; not as he is a man, nor on his own account ſimply, not for any advantage he (the Devil) can make by the ruin and deſtruction of man; but in mere envy at the felicity he is ſuppoſed to enjoy as Satan's rival and as he is appointed to ſucceed Satan and his angels in the poſſeſſion of thoſe glories from which they are fallen.

And here I muſt take upon me to ſay, Mr Milton makes a wrong judgment of the reaſon of Satan's reſolution to diſturb the felicity of man: He tells us it was merely to affront God his maker, rob him of the glory deſigned in his new work of creation, and to diſappoint him in his main deſign, NAMELY, the creating a new ſpecies of creatures in a perfect rectitude of ſoul, and after his own image, from whom he might expect a new fund of glory ſhould be raiſed, and who was to appear as the triumph of the Meſſiah's victory over the Devil. In all which Satan could not be fool enough not to know that he ſhould be diſappointed by the ſame power which had ſo eminently counteracted his rage before.

But, I believe, the Devil went upon a much more probable deſign; and though he may be ſaid to act upon a meaner principle than that of pointing his rage at the perſonal glory of his Creator, yet I own that, in my opinion, it was by much the more rational undertaking, and more likely to ſucceed; and that was, that whereas he perceived this new ſpecies of creatures had a ſublime as well as an human part, and were made capable of poſſeſſing the manſions of eternal beatitude from whence he (Satan) and his angels were expelled, and irretrievably baniſhed; envy at ſuch a rival moved him by all poſſible artifice, for he ſaw him deprived of capacity to do it by force, to render him unworthy like himſelf: that, bringing him to fall into rebellion and diſobedience, he might ſee his rival damned with him; and thoſe who were intended to fill up the empty ſpace of heaven, made ſo by the abſence of ſo many millions of fallen angels, be caſt out into the ſame darkneſs with them.

How

How he came to know that this new ſpecies of creatures were liable to ſuch imperfection, is beſt explained by the Devil's prying, vigilant diſpoſition, judging or leading him to judge by himſelf (for he was as near being infallible as any of God's creatures had been); and then inclining him to try whether it was ſo or no.

Modern naturaliſts, eſpecially ſome who have not ſo large a charity for the fair ſex as I have, tell us, that as ſoon as ever Satan ſaw the woman and looked in her face, he ſaw evidently that ſhe was the beſt formed creature to make a tool of, and the beſt to make an hypocrite of, that could be made, and therefore the moſt fitted for his purpoſe.

1. He ſaw by ſome thwart lines in her face, (legible, perhaps, to himſelf only) that there was a throne ready prepared for the ſin of pride to ſit in ſtate upon, eſpecially if it took an early poſſeſſion: Eve you may ſuppoſe was a perfect beauty, if ever ſuch a thing may be ſuppoſed in the human frame; her figure being ſo extraordinary, was the ground work of his project; there needed no more than to bring her to be vain of it, and to conceit that it either was ſo, or was infinitely more ſublime and beautiful than it really was; and having thus tickled her vanity, to produce pride gradually, till at laſt he might perſuade her that ſhe was really angelic, or of heavenly race, and wanted nothing but to eat the forbidden fruit, and that would make her ſomething more excellent ſtill.

2. Looking farther into her frame, and with a nearer view to her imperfections, he ſaw room to conclude, that ſhe was of a conſtitution eaſy to be reduced, and eſpecially by flattering her; raiſing a commotion in her ſoul, and a diſturbance among her paſſions; and accordingly he ſet himſelf to work, to diſturb her repoſe, and put dreams of great things into her head: together with ſomething of a nameleſs kind, which (however ſome have been ill-natured enough to ſuggeſt) I ſhall not injure the Devil ſo much as to mention, without better evidence.

3. But beſides this, he found, upon the very firſt ſurvey of her outſide, ſomething ſo very charming in her mein and behaviour, ſo engaging as well as agreeable in the whole texture of her perſon, and withal ſuch a ſprightly wit, ſuch a vivacity of parts, ſuch a fluency of tongue, and, above all, ſuch a winning prevailing whine in her ſmiles, or at leaſt in her tears, that he made no doubt, if he could but once delude her, ſhe would eaſily be brought to delude Adam, who he found ſet not only

a great value upon her perſon, but was perfectly captivated by her charms; in a word, he ſaw plainly, that if he could but ruin her, he ſhould eaſily make a Devil of her, to ruin her huſband, and draw him into any gulph of miſchief, were it ever ſo black and dreadful, that ſhe would firſt fall into herſelf. How far ſome may be wicked enough, from hence, to ſuggeſt of the fair ſex, that they have been devils to their huſbands ever ſince, I cannot ſay; I hope they will not be ſo unmerciful to diſcover truths of ſuch fatal conſequence, though they ſhould come to their knowledge.

Thus ſubtile and penetrating has Satan been from the begining; and who can wonder, that upon theſe diſcoveries made into the woman's inſide, he went immediately to work with her, rather than with Adam? Not but that one would think, if Adam was fool enough to be deluded by his wife, the Devil might have ſeen ſo much of it in his countenance, as to have encouraged him to make his attack directly upon him, and not go round about, beating the buſh, and plowing with the heifer? ſetting upon the woman firſt, and then ſetting her upon her huſband, who might as eaſily have been impoſed upon as ſhe?

Other commentators upon this critical text ſuggeſt to us, that Eve was not ſo pleaſed with the hopes of being made a goddeſs, that the pride of a ſeraphic knowledge did not ſo much work upon her imagination to bring her to conſent, as a certain ſecret notion infuſed into her heart by the ſame wicked inſtrument, that ſhe ſhould be wiſer than Adam, and ſhould by the ſuperiority of her underſtanding neceſſarily have the government over him; which, at preſent, ſhe was ſenſible ſhe had not, he being maſter of a particular air of gravity and majeſty, as well as of ſtrength, infinitely ſuperior to her.

This is an ill-natured ſuggeſtion; but it muſt be confeſſed the impatient deſire of government, which (ſince that) appears in the general behaviour of the ſex, and particularly of governing huſbands, leaves too much room to legitimate the ſuppoſition.

The expoſitors, who are of this opinion, add to it, that this being her original crime, or the particular temptation to that crime; heaven thought fit to ſhew his juſtice, in making her more entire ſubjection to her huſband be a part of the curſe, that ſhe might read her ſin in the puniſhment; *viz*, He ſhall rule over thee.

I only give the general hint of theſe things, as they appear recorded in the annals of Satan's firſt tyranny, and at the begin-

ning of his goverment in the world; thoſe that would be more particularly informed may enquire of him, and know farther.

I cannot, however, but obſerve here, with ſome regret, how it appears by the conſequence, that the Devil was not mistaken when he made an early judgment of Mrs Eve; and how Satan really went the right way to work to judge of her; It is certain the Devil had nothing to do but to look in her face, and, upon a near ſteady view, he might eaſily ſee there an inſtrument for his turn; nor has he failed to make her a tool ever ſince, by the very methods which he at firſt propoſed; to which, perhaps, he has made ſome additions in the corrupting her compoſition, as well as her underſtanding: qualifying her to be a complete ſnare to the poor weaker veſſel man; to wheedle him with her Siren's voice, abuſe him with her ſmiles delude him with her crocodile tears, and ſometimes cock her crown at him, and terrify him with the thunder of her treble; making the effeminated male apple-eater tremble at the noiſe of that very tongue which at firſt commanded him to ſin. For it is yet a debate which the learned have not decided, whether ſhe perſuaded and intreated him, or, like a true ſhe tyrant exerciſed her authority, and obliged him to eat the forbidden fruit.

And therefore, a certain author, whoſe name for fear of the ſex's reſentment I conceal, brings her in, calling to Adam at a great diſtance, in an imperious, haughty manner, beckoning to him with her hand thus: "Here, ſays ſhe, you cowardly faint-'hearted wretch take this branch of heavenly fruit; eat, and 'be a ſtupid fool no longer; eat, and be wiſe; eat, and be 'a God; and know, to your eternal ſhame, that your wife 'has been made an enlightened goddeſs before you."

He tells you, Adam hung back a little at firſt, and trembled, afraid to treſpaſs: "What ails the ſot? ſays the new 'termagant: What are you afraid of? Did God forbid 'you? yes and why? that we might not be knowing and 'wiſe like himſelf! What reaſon can there be that we, who 'have capacious ſouls, able to receive knowledge, ſhould have 'it with held? Take it you fool, and eat; don't you ſee how 'I am exalted in ſoul by it, and am quite another creature? 'Take it, I ſay; or, if you don't, I'll go and cut down the 'tree, and you ſhall never eat any of it at all, and you ſhall 'be ſtill a fool, and be governed by your wife for ever."——

Thus, if this interpretation of the thing be juſt, ſhe ſcolded him into it, rated him, and brought him to it by the terror of her voice; a thing that has retained a dreadful influence over

him ever ſince; nor have the greateſt of Adam's ſucceſſors, how light ſoever ſome huſbands make of it in this age, been ever able, ſince that, to conceal their terror at the very ſound nay, if we may believe hiſtory, it prevailed even among the gods not all the noiſe of Vulcan's hammers could ſilence the clamours of that outrageous whore his goddeſs; nay, even Jupiter himſelf led ſuch a life with a termagant wife, that once they ſay Juno out ſcolded the noiſe of all his thunders, and and was within an acé of bawling him out of heaven. But to return to the Devil.

With theſe views he reſolved, it ſeems to attack the woman; and if you conſider him as the Devil, and what he aimed at, and conſider the fair proſpect he had of ſucceſs, I muſt confeſs, I do not ſee who can blame him, or, at leaſt, how any thing elſe could be expected from him; but we ſhall meet with it again by and by.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Station Satan had in Heaven before he fell; the Nature and Original of his Crime; and ſome of Mr Milton's Mistakes about it.

THUS far I have gone upon general obſervation in this great affair of Satan and his empire in the world; I now come to my title and ſhall enter upon the hiſtorical part, as the main work before me.

Beſides what has been ſaid poetically relating to the fall and wandering condition of the Devil and his hoſts, which poetical part I offer only as an excurſion, and deſire it ſhould be taken ſo; I ſhall give you what I think is deduced from good originals on the part of Satan's ſtory, in a few words.—

He was one of the created angels, formed by the ſame Omnipotent hand, and glorious power, who created the heavens and the earth, and all that is therein: this innumerable heavenly hoſt, as we have reaſon to believe, contained angels of higher and lower ſtations, of greater and of leſſer degree, expreſſed in the Scripture by thrones, dominions, and principalities: This, I think, we have as much reaſon to believe, as we have that there are ſtars in the firmament (or ſtarry heavens) of greater and leſſer magnitude.

What particular ſtation amo.g the immortal choir of angels, this arch ſeraph, this prince of devils, called Satan, was placed in before his expulſion, that, indeed, we cannot come at the knowledge of: at leaſt, not with ſuch an authority as may be

depended upon; but as, from Scripture-authority, he is placed at the head of all the apoſtate armies, after he was fallen, we cannot think it in the leaſt aſſuming to ſay that he might be ſuppoſed to be one of the principle agents in the rebellion which happened in heaven: and conſequently, that he might be one of the higheſt in dignity there, before that rebellion.

The higher his ſtation, the lower, and with the greater precipitation, was his overthrow; and therefore thoſe words, though taken in another ſenſe, may very well be applied to him: "How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, Son of the Morning!"

Having granted the dignity of his perſon, and the high ſtation in which he was placed among the heavenly hoſt? it would come then neceſſarily to enquire into the nature of his fall, and, above all, a little into the reaſon of it: Certain it is, he did fall, was guilty of rebellion and diſobedience, the juſt effect of pride; ſins which in that holy place, might well be called wonderful.

But what to me is more wonderful, and which I think will be very ill accounted for, is, How came ſeeds of crime to riſe in the angelic nature, created in a ſtate of perfect unſpotted holineſs? How was it firſt found in a place where no unclean thing can enter; How came ambition, pride, or envy, to generate there? Could there be offence where there was no crime? Could untainted purity breed corruption? Could that nature contaminate and infect, which was always drinking in principles of perfection.

Happy it is to me, that writing the hiſtory, not ſolving the difficulties of Satan's affairs, is my province in this work; that I am to relate the fact, not give reaſons for it, or aſſign cauſes; if it was otherwiſe, I ſhould break off at this difficulty, for I acknowledge I do not ſee through it: neither do I think that the great Milton, after all his fine images, and lofty excurſions upon the ſubject, has left it one jot clearer than he found it. Some are of opinion, and among them the great Dr B——s, that crime broke in upon them at ſome interval, when they ommitted but one moment fixing their eyes and thoughts on the glories of the divine face, to admire and adore, which is the full employment of angels: but even this, though it goes as high as imagination can carry us, does not reach it, nor, to me, make it one jot more comprehenſible then it was before: All I can ſay to it here is, that ſo it was; the fact was upon record: and the rejected troop are in being, whoſe circumſtances confeſs the guilt, and ſtill groan under the puinſhment.

If you will bear with a poetic excurſion upon the ſubject, not to ſolve, but illuſtrate the difficulty; take it in a few lines, thus.

Thou ſin of witchcraft! firſt born child of crime?
Produc'd before the bloom of time;
Ambition's maiden ſin, in heaven conceived!
And who could have believ'd
Defilement could in purity begin,
And bright eternal day be foil'd with ſin?
Tell us, fly penetrating crime,
How cam'ſt thou there, thou fault ſublime?
How didſt thou paſs the adamantine gate,
And into ſpirit thyſelf inſinuate?
From what dark ſtate? from what deep place?
From what ſtrange uncreated race?
Where was thy ancient habitation found,
Before void Chaos heard the forming ſound?
Waſt thou a ſubſtance, or an airy ghoſt,
A vapour flying in the fluid waſte
Of unconcocted air,
And how at firſt didſt thou come there?
Sure there was once a time when thou wert not:
By whom was thou cre ted? and for what?
Art thou a ſteam from ſome contagious damp exhal'd?
How ſhould contagion be entail'd
On bright ſeraphic ſpirits, and in a place,
Where all's ſupreme, and glory fills the ſpace?
No noxious vapour there could riſe;
For there no noxious matter lies:
Nothing that's evil could appear;
Sin never could ſeraphic glory bear;
The brightneſs of the eternal face,
Which fills as well as conſtitutes the place,
Would be a fire too hot for crime to bear,
'Twould calcine ſin, or melt it into air
How then did firſt defilement enter in?
Ambition, thou firſt vital ſeed of ſin!
Thou life of death how cam'ſt thou there?
In what bright form didſt thou appear!
In what ſeraphic orb didſt thou ariſe?
Surely that place admits of no diſguiſe:
Eternal ſight muſt know thee there,
And, being known, thou ſoon muſt diſappear;
But ſince the fatal truth we know,
Without the matter thence, or manner how:
Thou higheſt ſuperlative of ſin,
Tell us thy nature, where thou didſt begin?
The firſt degree of thy increaſe
Debauch'd the regions of eternal peace;
And fill'd the breaſts of loyal angels there
With the firſt treaſon, and infernal war.

Thou art the high extreme of pride,
And doſt o'er leſſer crimes preſide
Not for the mean attempt of vice deſign'd
But to embroil the world, and damn mankind.
Transforming miſchief! how haſt thou procur'd
That loſs that's ne'er to be reſtor'd,
And made the bright ſeraphic morning ſtar
In horid monſtrous ſhapes appear?
Satan, that, while he dwelt in glorious light,
Was always then as pure as he was bright,
That in effulgent rays of glory ſhone,
Excell'd by eternal light, by him alone,
Diſtorted now, and ſtript of innocence,
And baniſh'd with thee from the high pre-eminence
How has the ſplendid ſeraph chang'd his face,
Transform'd by thee, and like thy monſtrous race?
Ugly as is the crime for which he fell?
Fitted by thee to make a local hell;
For ſuch muſt be the place where either of you dwell.

Thus, as I told you, I only moralize upon the ſubject, but as to the difficulty, I muſt leave it as I find, it unleſs, as I hinted at firſt, I could prevail with Satan to ſet pen to paper, and write this part of his own hiſtory: no queſtion but he could let us into the ſecret; but, to be plain, I doubt I ſhall tell ſo many plain truths of the Devil in this hiſtory, and diſcover ſo many of his ſecrets, which it is not for his intereſt to have diſcovered, that, before I have done, the Devil and I may not be ſo good friends as you may ſuppoſe we are; at leaſt, not friends enough to obtain ſuch a favour of him, though it be for public good: ſo we muſt be content till we come on the other ſide the blue-blanket, and then we ſhall know the whole ſtory.—

But now, though, as I ſaid, I will not attempt to ſolve the difficulty, I may, I hope, venture to tell you, that there is not ſo much difficulty in it as at firſt ſight appears; and eſpecially not ſo much as ſome people would make us believe: Let us ſee how others are miſtaken in it; perhaps that may help us a little in the enquiry; for to know what it is not, is one help towards knowing what it is.

Mr Milton has indeed told us a great many merry things of the Devil in a moſt formal ſolemn manner; till, in ſhort, he has made a good play of heaven and hell; and no doubt, if he had lived in our times, he might have had it acted with our Pluto and Proſerpine. He has made fine ſpeeches both for God and the Devil; and a little edition might have turned it *a la moderne*, into an *Harlequin Dieu, et Diable*.

I confeſs I do not well know how far the dominion of poetry extends itſelf; it ſeems the butts and bounds of Parnaſſus

are not yet aſcertained; ſo that for aught I know, by virtue of their ancient privilege, called *Licentia poetarum*, there can be no blaſphemy in verſe; as ſome of our divines ſay, there can be no treaſon in the pulpit. But they that will venture to write that way, ought to be better ſatisfied about that point than I may.

Upon this foot Mr Milton, to grace his poem, and give room for his towering fancy, has gone a length beyond all that went before him, ſince Ovid in his Metamorphoſis. He has indeed complimented God Almighty with a flux of ſoft words, and great ſounds; and has made a very fine ſtory of the Devil; but he has made a mere *Je ne ſca quoi* of Jeſus Chriſt. In one line he has him riding on a cherub, and in another ſitting on a throne, both in the very ſame moment of action. In another place, he has brought him in making a ſpeech to his ſaints.—when it is evident he had none there; for we all know man was not created till a long while after; and nobody can be ſo dull as to ſay the angels may be called ſaints, without the greateſt abſurdity in nature. Beſides, he makes *Chriſt* himſelf diſtinguiſh them, as in two ſeveral bands, and of different perſons and ſpecies, as to be ſure they are,

Stand ſtill in bright array, ye ſaints———
———————————Here ſtand,
Ye angels.——————— *Par. Loſt*, Book v.

So that *Chriſt* here is brought in drawing up his army before the laſt battle, and making a ſpeech to them, to tell them they ſhall only ſtand by in warlike order: but that they ſhall have no occaſion to fight, for he alone will engage the rebels. Then in embattling his legions he places the ſaints here, and angels there; as if one were the main battle of infantry, and the other of the wings cavalry. But who are thoſe ſaints? They are indeed all of Milton's own making; it is certain there were no ſaints at all in heaven or earth at that time; *God* and his angels fill'd up the place; and till ſome of the angels fell, and men were created, had lived, and were dead, there could have been no ſaints there. Saint Abel was certainly the Proto Saint of all that were ever ſeen in heaven, as well as the Proto Martyr of all that hath been upon earth.

Juſt ſuch another miſtake, not to call it a blunder, he makes about hell; which he not only makes *local*, but gives it a being before the fall of the angels; and brings it in opening its mouth to receive them. This is ſo contrary to the nature of the

the thing, and ſo great an abſurdity, that no poetic licence can account for it; for though poeſy may form ſtories, as idea and fancy may furniſh materials; yet poeſy muſt not break in upon chronology; and make things which in time were to exiſt, act before they exiſted.

Thus a painter makes a fine piece of work, the fancy may be good, the ſtrokes maſterly, and the beauty of the workmanſhip inimitably curious and fine; and yet have ſome unpardonable improprieties, which mar the whole work. So the famous painter of Toledo painted the ſtory of the three wiſemen of the eaſt coming to worſhip, and bringing their preſents to our Lord, upon his birth at Bethlehem, where he preſents them as three Arabian or Indian kings; two of them are white, and one black; But unhappily, when he drew the latter part of them kneeling, which to be ſure was done after their faces, their legs being neceſſarily a little intermixed, he made three black feet for the negro king, and but three white feet for the two white kings; and yet never diſcovered the miſtake till the piece was preſented to the king, and hung up in the great church. As this is an unpardonable error in ſculpture or limning, it muſt be much more ſo in poetry, where the images muſt have no improprieties, much leſs inconſiſtencies

In a word, Mr Milton has indeed made a fine poem; but it is the Devil of a Hiſtory. I can eaſily allow Mr Milton to make hills and dales, flowery meadows and plains (and the like), in heaven; and places of retreat and contemplation in hell; though I muſt add, that it can be allowed to no poet on earth but Mr Milton. Nay, I will allow Mr Milton, if you pleaſe to ſet the angels a dancing in heaven (book v.), and the Devils a ſinging in hell (book i.), though they are, in ſhort, ſpecially the laſt, moſt horrid abſurdities. But I cannot allow him to make their muſick in hell to be harmonious and charming, as he does; ſuch images being incongruous, and, indeed, ſhocking to nature. Neither can I think we ſhould allow things to be placed out of time in poetry, any more than in hiſtory: it is a confuſion of images, which is agreed to be diſallowed by all critics, of what tribe or ſpecies ſoever, in the world; and is indeed unpardonable. But we ſhall find ſo many more of theſe things in Mr Milton, that really taking notice of them all would carry me quite out of my way, I being at this time not writing the hiſtory of Mr Milton, but of the Devil: Beſides, Mr Milton is ſuch a celebrated man, that who but he that can write the hiſtory of the Devil dare meddle with him?

But to come back to the the buſineſs: As I had cautioned you againſt running to Scripture for ſhelter in caſes of difficulty, Scripture weighing very little among the people I am directing my ſpeech to; ſo, indeed, Scripture gives but very little light into any thing of the Devil's ſtory before his fall, and but to very little of it for ſome time after.

Nor has Mr Milton ſaid one word to ſolve the main difficulty, *viz* How the Devil came to fall, and how ſin came into heaven? How the ſpotleſs ſeraphic nature could receive infection? Whence the cotagion proceeded? What noxious matter could emit corruption there? How and whence any vapour to poiſon the angelick frame could riſe up; or how it encreaſed and grew up to crime! But all this he paſſes over, and hurrying up to that part in two or three words, only tells us,

——————— His Pride
Had caſt him out of heaven, with all his hoſt
Of rebel angels; by whoſe aid, aſpiring,
He truſted to have equall'd the Moſt High.
Par. Loſt, Book v.

His Pride! But how came Satan, while an archangel, to be proud? How did it conſiſt, that pride and perfect holineſs ſhould meet in the ſame perſon? Here we muſt bid Mr Milton good night; for, in plain terms, he is in the dark about it and ſo we are all; and the moſt that can be ſaid about it is, that we know the fact is ſo, but nothing of the nature or reaſon of it.

But to come to the hiſtory: The angels fell; they ſinned (wonderful!) in heaven, and God caſt them out, What their ſin was, is not explicit; but, in general, it is called a Rebellion againſt GOD: All ſin muſt be ſo.

Mr Milton here takes upon him to give the hiſtory of it, as particularly as if he had been born there, and came down hither on purpoſe to give us an account of it (I hope he is better informed by this time); but this he does in ſuch a manner, as joſtles with religion, and ſhocks our faith in ſo many points neceſſary to be believed, that we muſt forbear to give up to Mr Milton, or muſt ſet aſide part of the ſacred text, in ſuch a manner as will aſſiſt ſome people to ſet it all aſide.

I mean by this, his invented ſcheme of the SON's being declared in heaven to be begotten then, and then to be declared Generaliſſimo of all the armies of heaven; and of the FATHER's ſummoning all the angels of the heavenly hoſt to ſubmit to him, and pay him homage. The words are quoted already page 13.

I muſt own the invention, indeed, is very fine; the images exceedingly magnificent, the thoughts rich and bright, and, in ſome reſpect, truely ſublime: but the authorities fail moſt wretchedly, and the miſ-timing of it is unſufferably groſs, as is noted in the introduction of this work; for Chriſt is not declared the SON OF GOD but on earth. It is true, it is ſpoken from heaven, but then it is ſpoken as perfected on earth. If it was at all to be aſſigned to heaven, it was from eternity; and there indeed his eternal generation is allowed: but to take upon us to ſay, that on a certain day; for ſo our poet aſſumes,

" ——————————When on a day
" ——————————On ſuch a day
" As heav'n's great year brings forth th' empyreal hoſt
" Of angels, by imperial ſummons call'd,
" Forthwith, from all the ends of heav'n appear'd."
Par. Loſt, Book v.

This is indeed too groſs. At this meeting he makes GOD declare the SON to be that day begotten, as before. Had he made him not begotten that day, but declared General that day it would be reconcileable with Scripture, and with ſenſe: for either the begetting is meant of ordaining to an office, or elſe the eternal generation falls to the ground: and if it was to the office (Mediator), then Mr Milton is out in aſcribing another fixed day to the work; ſee book x. But then the declaring him that day is wrong cronology too; for Chriſt is declared the Son of God with power, only by the reſurrection of the dead; and this is both a declaration in heaven and in earth, Rom i. 4. And Milton can have no authority to tell us, there was any declaration of it in heaven before this, except it be that dull authority called Poetic Licence, which will not paſs in ſo ſolemn an affair as that.

But the thing was neceſſary to Milton, who wanted to aſſign ſome cauſe or original of the Devil's rebellion: and ſo, as I ſaid above, the deſign is well laid: It only wants two trifles, called Truth and Hiſtory; ſo I leave it to ſtruggle for itſelf.

This ground plot being laid, he has a fair field for the Devil to play the rebel in: for he immediately brings him in, not ſatisfied with the exhaltation of the SON OF GOD. The cauſe muſt be thus: Satan, being an eminent archangel, and, perhaps, the higheſt of all the angelick train, hearing this ſovereign declaration that the SON OF GOD was declared to be head or Generaliſſimo, of all the heavenly hoſt, took it ill to ſee another put into the high ſtation over his head, as the ſoldiers

call it: he, perhaps, thinking himself the senior officer, and disdaining to submit to any but his former immediate sovereign. In short he threw up his commission, and, in order not to be compelled to obey, revolted, and broke out in an open rebellion.

All this part is a decoration noble and great: nor is there any declaration to be made against the invention, because a deduction of probable events; but the plot is wrong laid, as is observed above, because contradicted by the Scripture account, according to which Christ was declared in heaven, not then, but from eternity, and not declared with power but on earth, *viz*, in his victory over Sin and Death, by the resurrection from the dead: So that Mr Milton is not orthodox in this part, but lays an avowed foundation for the corrupt doctrine of Arius, which says, There was a time when Christ was not the Son of God.

But to leave Mr Milton his flights, I agree with him in this part, *viz*. That the wicked and sinning angels, with the great archangel at the head of them, revolted from their obedience, even in heaven itself: that Satan began the wicked defection, and being a chief among the heavenly host, consequently carried over a great party with him, who altogether rebelled against God: that upon this rebellion, they were sentenced by the righteous judgment of God to be expelled the holy habitation. This, besides the authority of scripture, we have visible testimonies of from the Devils themselves: their influences and operations among us every day, of which mankind are witnesses; in all the merry things they do in his name, and under his protection, in almost every scene of life they pass through, whether we talk of things done openly, or in masquerade; things done in —— or out of it; things done in earnest or in jest.

But then, what comes of the long and bloody war that Mr Milton gives such a full and particular account of, and the terrible battles in heaven between Michael, with the royal army of angels on one hand, and Satan with his rebel host on the other; in which he supposes the numbers and strength to be pretty near equal; but at length brings in the Devil's army, upon doubling their rage, and bringing new engines of war into the field, putting Michael and all the faithful army to the worst, and, in a word, defeats them; for though they were not put to a plain flight, in which case he must, at least have given an account of two or three thousand millions of angels

cut

cut in pieces and wounded, yet he allows them to give over the fight, and make a kind of retreat; ſo making way for the complete victory of the SON OF GOD. Now this is all invention, or at leaſt a borrowed thought from the old poets, and the fight of the Giants againſt Jupiter, ſo nobly defined by Ovid almoſt two thouſand years ago: And there it was well enough; but whether poetic fancy ſhould be allowed to fable upon heaven or not, and upon the King of heaven too, that I leave to the ſages.

By this expulſion of the Devils, it is allowed by moſt authors, they are, *ipſo facto*, ſtripped of the rectitude and holineſs of their nature; which was their beauty and perfection; and being ingulphed in the abyſs of irrecoverable ruin (it is no matter where,) from that very time they loſt their angelic beautiful form, commenced ugly frightful monſters and Devils and became evil doers, as well as evil ſpirits—filled with a horrid malignity and enmity againſt their Maker, and armed with a helliſh reſolution to ſhew and exert it on all occaſions; retaining however their exalted ſpirituous nature, and having a vaſt extenſive power of action; all which they can exert in nothing elſe but doing evil; for they are entirely diveſted of either power or will to do good; and even in doing evil, they are under reſtraints and limitations of a ſuperior power, which it is their torments, and perhaps a great part of their hell, that they cannot break through.

CHAP. V.

What became of the DEVIL, and his Hoſt of Fallen Spirits, after their being expelled from Heaven; and his wandering Condition till the Creation; with ſome more of MR MILTON's abſurdities on that ſubject.

HAVING thus brought the Devil, and his innumerable legions, to the edge of the bottomleſs pit, it remains, before I bring them to action, that ſome inquiry ſhould be made into the poſture of their affairs immediately after their precipitate fall, and into the place of their immediate reſidence: for this will appear to be very neceſſary to Satan's hiſtory, and indeed, ſo as that without it, all the farther account we have to give of him will be inconſiſtent and imperfect.

And *firſt*, I take upon me to lay down ſome fundamentals, which, I believe, I ſhall be able to make out hiſtorically, though perhaps not ſo geographically as ſome may have pretended to do.

1. That Satan was not immediately, nor is yet, locked down in the abyſs of a local hell, ſuch as is ſuppoſed by ſome, and ſuch as he ſhall be at laſt; or that,

2. If he was, he has certain liberties allowed him for excurſions unto the regions of this air, and certain ſpheres of action, in which he can or does move, to do, like a very Devil as he is, all the miſchief he can, and of which we ſee ſo many examples both about us, and in us: in the inquiry after which, I ſhall take occaſion to examine, whether the Devil is not in moſt of us ſometimes, if not in all of us one time or other.

3. That Satan has no particular reſidence in this globe or earth where we live; that he rambles about among us, and marches over and over our whole country, he and his Devils, *in campis volant*; but that he pitches his grand army, or chief encampment, in our adjacencies or frontiers, which the philoſophers call Atmoſphere; and whence he is called the Prince of the Power of that element or part of the world we call Air; from whence he ſends out his ſpies, his agent and emmiſſaries, to get intelligence, and to carry his commiſſions to his truſty and well beloved couſins and counſellors on earth, by which his buſineſs is done, and his affairs carried on in the world.

Here again I meet Mr Milton full in my face, who will have it, that the Devil, immediately at his expulſion, rolling down directly into hell proper and local: nay, he meaſures the very diſtance, at leaſt gives the length of the journey by the time they were paſſing or falling, which he ſays was nine days. A good poetical flight! but neither founded on ſcripture or philoſopny. He might every jot as well brought hell up to the walls of heaven, advanced to receive them; or he ought to have conſidered the ſpace which is to be allowed to any locality, let him take what part of infinite diſtance between heaven and created hell he pleaſes.

But let that be as Mr Milton's extraordinary genius pleaſes to place it; the paſſage, it ſeems, is juſt nine day between heaven and hell. Well might Dives then ſee Father Abraham,

and

nd talk to him too; but then the great gulph which Abra-am tells him was fixed between them, does not ſeem to be ſo arge, as according to Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr Halley, Mr Whiſton, and the reſt of our men of ſcience, we take it to be.

But ſuppoſe the paſſage be nine days, according to Mr Mil-on, what followed? Why, hell, gaped wide, opened its fright-ul mouth, and received them all at once; millions and thou-ands of millions as they were, it received them all at a gulph, s we call it. They had no difficulty to go in; no, none at ll.

——Facilis deſcensus averni:
Sed revocare gradum——
Hoc opus, hic labor eſt.——

VIRGIL.

All this, as poetical, we may receive, but not at all as hiſ-orical; for then come difficulties inſuperable in our way: ome of which may be as follow: (1) Hell is here ſuppoſed o be a place; nay, a place created for the puniſhment of an-els and men, and likewiſe created long before thoſe had fal-en, or theſe had being. This makes me ſay, Mr Milton was good poet, but a bad hiſtorian. Tophet was prepared of ld indeed; but it was for the king, that is to ſay, it was repared for thoſe whoſe lot it ſhould be to come thither: ut this does not at all ſuppoſe it was prepared before it was eſolved whether there ſhould be ſubjects for it or no; elſe we uſt iuppoſe both men and angels were made by the glorious nd upright Maker of all things, on purpoſe for deſtruction, hich would be incongruous and abſurd.

But there is worſe yet to come. In the next place, he adds, hat hell, having received them, cloſed upon them; that is to y, took them in, cloſed or ſhut its mouth, and in a word, ey were locked in, as it was ſaid in another place, They ere locked in and kept there; and the key is carried up to eaven, and kept there; for we know the angel came down om heaven having the key of the bottomleſs pit: but firſt ſee Mr. Milton.

" Nine days they fell; conſounded Chaos roar'd,
" And felt tenfold confuſion in their fall:
" ——————Hell at laſt,
" Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them clos'd;
" Down from the verge of heav'n, eternal wrath
" Burnt after them——
" Unquenchable."

This ſcheme is certainly deficient, if not abſurd; and I think

think is more ſo than any other he has laid! 'Tis evident, neither Satan, or his hoſt of Devils, are, no not any of them, yet, even now, confined in the eternal priſon, where, the Scripture ſays, he ſhall be reſerved in chains of darkneſs. They muſt have mean thoughts of hell, as a priſon, a local confinement, that can ſuppoſe the Devil able to break gaol, knock off his fetters, and come abroad, if he had been once locked in there, as Mr Milton ſays he was: now we know, that he is abroad again; he preſented himſelf before God, among his neighbours, when Job's caſe came to be diſcourſed of; and, more than that, 'tis plain he was a priſoner at large, by his anſwer to God's queſtion, which was *Whence comeſt thou?* To which he anſwered, *From going to and fro through the earth, &c.* This I ſay, is plain; and if it be as certain, that hell cloſed upon them, I demand then, How got he out? And why was there not a proclamation for apprehending him, as there uſually is, after ſuch rogues as break priſon?

In ſhort, the true account of the Devil's circumſtances, ſince his fall from heaven, is much more likely to be thus: That he is more of a vagrant than a priſoner; that he is a wanderer in the wild unbounded waſte, where he and his legions, like the hords of Tartary, who, in the wild countries of Karakathay, the deſarts of Barkan, Kaſſan, and Aſtracan, live up and down where they think proper; ſo Satan and his innumerable legions rove about *hic & ubique*, pitching their camps (being beaſts of prey) where they find the moſt ſpoil; watching over this world (and all the other worlds, for aught we know, and if there are any ſuch); I ſay watching, and ſeeking whom they may devour, that is, whom they may deceive and delude, and ſo deſtroy, for devour they cannot.

Satan, being thus confined to a vagabond, wandering unſettled condition, is without any certain abode; for though he has, in conſequence of his angelic nature, a kind of empire in the liquid waſte or air; yet this is certainly part of his puniſhment, that he is continually hovering over this inhabited globe of earth; ſwelling with the rage of envy at the felicity of his rival man; and ſtudying all the means poſſible to injure and ruin him: but extremely limited in power, to his unſpeakable mortification. This is his preſent ſtate, without any fixed abode, place or ſpace, allowed him to reſt the ſole of his foot upon.

From his expulſion, I take his firſt view of horror to be that of looking back towards the heaven which he had loſt;

here to see the chasm or opening made up, out at which, as at a breach in the wall of the holy place, he was thrust headlong by the power which expelled him; I say, to see the breach repaired, the mounds built up, the walls garrisoned with millions of angels, and armed with thunders; and, above all, made terrible by that glory from whose presence they were expell'd as is poetically hinted at before.

Upon this sight, 'tis no wonder (if there was such a place) that they fled till the darkness might cover them, and that they might be out of the view of so hated a sight.

Wherever they found it, you may be sure they pitched their first camp; and began, after many a sour reflection upon what was past, to consider and think a little upon what was to come.

If I had as much personal acquaintance with the Devil, as would admit it, and could depend upon the truth of what answer he would give me, the first question I would ask him, should be, What measures they resolved on at their first assembly? And the next should be, How they were employed in all that space of time, between their so flying the face of their Almighty Conqueror, and the creation of man? As for the length of the time, which, according to the learned, was twenty thousand years, and according to the more learned, not half a quarter so much, I would not concern my curiosity much about it; 'tis more certain, there was a considerable time between; but of that immediately: First, let me enquire what they were doing all that time.

The Devil and his host being thus, I say, cast out of heaven, and not yet confined strictly to hell, 'tis plain they must be some where; Satan and all his legions did not lose their existence, no, nor the existence of Devils neither; God was so far from annihilating him, that he still preserved his being, and this not Mr Milton only, but God himself, has made known to us, having left his history so far upon record: Several expressions in Scripture also made it evident, as particularly the story of Job, mentioned before; the like in our Saviour's time, and several others.

If hell did not immediately ingulph them, as Milton suggests 'tis certain, I say, that they fled somewhere, from the anger of heaven, from the face of the avenger; and his absence and their own guilt, wonder not at it, would make hell enough for them, wherever they went.

Nor need we fly to the dreams of our astronomers, who took a great deal of pains to fill up the vast spaces of the starry

ry heavens with innumerable habitable worlds; allowing as many ſolar ſyſtems as there are fixed ſtars, and that not only in the known conſtellations, but even in the galaxy itſelf; what to every ſuch ſyſtem allow a certain number of planets, and to every one of thoſe planets ſo many ſatellites or moons, and all theſe planets or moons to be worlds; ſolid, dark, opaque bodies, habitable, and (as they would have us believe) inhabited by the like animals and rational creatures as on this earth; ſo that they may, at this rate, find room enough for the Devil and all his angels, without making an hell on purpoſe; nay, they may, for aught I know, find a world for every Devil in all the Devil's hoſt; and ſo every one may be a monarch or maſter Devil, ſeparately in his own ſphere or world, and play the Devil there by himſelf.

And even if this were ſo, it cannot be denied but that one Devil in a place would be enough for a whole ſyſtemary world, and be able, if not reſtrained, to do miſchief enough there too, and even to ruin and overthrow the whole body of people contained in it.

But, I ſay, we need not fly to theſe ſhifts, or conſult the aſtronomers in the deciſion of this point; for wherever Satan and his defeated hoſt went at their expulſion from heaven, we think we are certain none of all theſe beautiful worlds, or be they worlds or no, I mean the fixed ſtars, planets, &c. had then any exiſtence; for the beginning, as the Scripture calls it, was not yet begun.

But to ſpeak a little by the rules of philoſophy, that is to ſay, ſo as to be underſtood by others, even when we ſpeak of things we cannot fully underſtand ourſelves. Though in the beginning of time all this glorious creation was formed, the earth, the ſtarry heavens, and all the furniture thereof, and there was a time when they were not; yet we cannot ſay of the void, or that nameleſs no where as I called it before, which now appears to be ſome where, in which theſe glorious bodies are placed. That immenſe ſpace which thoſe take up, and which they move in at this time, muſt be ſuppoſed, before they had being, to be placed there. As God himſelf was, and exiſted, before all being, time, or place; ſo the heaven of heavens, or the place where the thrones and dominions of his kingdom then exiſted, inconceivable and ineffable, had an exiſtence before the glorious ſeraphs, the innumerable company of angels which attended about the throne of God, exiſted; theſe all had a being long before, as the eternal creator of them all had before them.

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Into this void or abyſs of nothing, however unmeaſurable, finite, and even to thoſe ſpirits themſelves inconceivable, they rtainly launched from the bright precipice which they fell om; and here they ſhifted as well as they could.

Here expanding thoſe wings which fear and horror at their feat furniſhed them, as I hinted before, they hurried away the utmoſt diſtance poſſible from the face of GOD their conueror, and then moſt dreaded enemy: formerly their joy and ory.

Be this utmoſt removed diſtance where it will, here certain, Satan and all his gang of Devils, his numberleſs, though uted armies, retired. Here Milton might with ſome good round have formed his Pandemonium, and have brought em in, conſulting what was next to be done, and whether ere was any room left to renew the war, or to carry on the bellion; but had they been caſt immediately into hell, cloſed there, the bottomleſs pit locked upon them, and the key rried up to heaven, to be kept there, as Mr Milton himſelf part confeſſes, and the Scripture affirms; I ſay, had this en ſo, the Devil himſelf could not have been ſo ignorant, as think of any future ſteps to be taken to retrieve his affairs, d therefore a Pandemonium, or divan in hell, to conſult of it, as ridiculous.

All Mr Milton's ſcheme of Satan's future conduct, and all e Scripture expreſſions about the Devil and his numerous atndants, and of his actings ſince that time, make it not reanable to ſuggeſt that the Devils were confined to their eterl priſon at their expulſion out of heaven: but that they were a ſtate of liberty to act, though limited in acting, of which ſhall alſo ſpeak in its place.

CHAP. VI.

f the number of SATAN's Hoſt.—How they came firſt to know of the new created Worlds now in being; and their meaſures with Mankind upon the diſcovery.

SEVERAL things have been ſuggeſted, to ſet us a calculating the number of this frightful throng of Devils, who ith Satan, the maſter Devil, was thus caſt out of heaven: I nnot ſay I am ſo much maſter of political arithmetic, as to ſt up the number of the beaſt, no, nor the number of the beaſt,

beasts or Devils, who make up this throng. St Francis, they tell us, or some other saint, they do not say who, asked the Devil once, how strong he was? for St Francis you must know was very familiar with him: The Devil it seems, did not tell him: but presently raised a great cloud of dust, by the help, I suppose, of a gust of wind, and bid that saint count it! He was, I suppose, a calculator, that would be called grave, who dividing Satan's troops into three lines, cast up the number of the Devils of all sorts in each battalia, at ten hundred times a hundred thousand million of the first line, and three hundred thousand times as many as both in the third line.

The impertinence of this account would hardly have given it a place here, only to hint, that it has always been the opinion that Satan's name may well be called a noun of multitude, and that the Devil and his angels are certainly no inconsiderable number. It was a smart repartee that a Venetian nobleman made to a priest, who rallied him upon his refusing to give something to the church, which the priest demanded for the delivering him from purgatory; when the priest asking him, If he knew what an innumerable number of Devils there were to take him? he answered, yes, he knew how many Devils there were in all. How many? says the priest, his curiosity I suppose, being raised by the novelty of the answer. Why ten millions five hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and seventy five Devils and an half, says the nobleman. An half! says the priest, pray what kind of a Devil is that? yourself, says the nobleman; for you are half a devil already, and will be a whole one when you come there; for you are for deluding all you deal with, and bringing us soul and body into your hands, that you may be paid for letting us go again. So much for their number.

Here also it would come in very aptly, to consider the state of that long interval between the time of their expulsion from heaven, and the creation of the world; and what the posture of the Devil's affairs might be during that time. The horror of their condition can only be conceived of at a distance, and especially by us, who, being embodied creatures, cannot fully judge of what is, or is not, a punishment to seraph and spirit: but 'tis just to suppose they suffere dall that spirits of a seraphic nature were capable to sustain, consistant with their existence; notwithstanding which they retained still the hellishness of their rebellious principles; namely, their hatred and rage against *God*, and their envy at the felicity of his creatures.

As to how long their time might be, I shall leave that search

o lights being given me that are either probable or rational; nd we have ſo little room to make a judgment of it, that we ay believe father M——, who ſuppoſes it to be an hundred houſand years, as thoſe who judge it one thouſand years; 'tis nough that we are ſure it was before the creation; how long efore is not material to the Devil's hiſtory, unleſs we had me records of what happened to him, or was done by him in e interval.

During the wandering condition the Devil was in at that me, we may ſuppoſe him and his whole clan to be employed exerting their hatred and rage at the Almighty, and at the appineſs of the remaining faithful angels, by all the ways they ad power to ſhew it.

From this determined ſtated enmity of Satan and his hoſt gainſt God, and at every thing that brought glory to his me, Mr Milton brings in Satan (when firſt he ſaw Adam in aradiſe, and the felicity of his ſtation there), ſwelling with ge and envy, and taking up a dreadful reſolution to ruin A-m, and all his poſterity, merely to diſappoint his maker of e glory of its creation. I ſhall come to ſpeak of that in its ace.

How Satan, in his remote ſituation, got intelligence of the ace where to find Adam out, or that any ſuch thing as a man as created, is matter of juſt ſpeculation, and there might be any rational ſchemes laid for it. Mr Milton does not under-ke to tell us the particulars, nor indeed could he find room r it; perhaps the Devil, having as I have ſaid, a liberty to nge over the whole void or abyſs, which we want as well a me for, as indeed powers to conceive of, might have diſco-red that the Almighty Creator had formed a new and glo-us work, with infinite beauty and variety, filling up the im-enſe waſte of ſpace in which he (the Devil) and his angels d roved for ſo long a time, without finding any thing to work , or to exert their apoſtate rage in againſt their Maker.

That at length they found the infinite untrodden ſpace on ſudden ſpread full with glorious bodies, ſhining in ſelf ex-ing beauty, with a new, and to them unknown luſtre called ht. They found theſe luminous bodies, though immenſe in lk, and infinite in number, yet fixed in their wondrous ſta-ns, regular and exact in their motions, confined in their pro-r orbits, tending to their particular centres, and enjoining e-ry one their peculiar ſyſtems, within which were contained umerable planets with their ſatellites or moons, in which (a-

gain) a reciprocal influence, motion, and revolution, conſpired to form the moſt admirable uniformity of the whole.

Surprized, to be ſure, with this ſudden and yet glorious work of the Almighty (for the creation was enough, with its luſtre, even to ſurpriſe the Devils), they might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to ſtart out of their dark retreat, and with a curioſity not below the ſeraphic dignity (for theſe are ſome of the things which the angels deſire to look into) to take a flight through all the amazing ſyſtems of the fixed ſuns or ſtars, which we ſee now but at a diſtance, and only make aſtronomical gueſſes at.

Here the Devil found not ſubject of wonder only, but matter to ſwell his revolted ſpirit with more rage, and to revive the malignity of his mind againſt his Maker, and eſpecially againſt this new increaſe of glory, which, to his infinite regret, was extended over the whole waſte, and which he looked upon, as we ſay in human affairs, as a *pays conquis*, or, if you will have it in the language of the Devil, as an invaſion upon his kingdom.

Here it naturally occurred to them, in their ſtate of envy and rebellion, that though they could not aſſault the impregnable walls of heaven, and could no more pretend to raiſe war in the place of bleſſedneſs and peace; yet that perhaps they might find room in this new, and however glorious, yet inferior kingdom or creation, to work ſome deſpite to their Great Creator, or to affront his Majeſty in the perſon of ſome of his new made creatures; and upon this they may be juſtly ſuppoſed to double their vigilance in the ſurvey they reſolved to take of theſe new worlds, however great, numberleſs, and wonderful.

What diſcoveries they may have made in the other and greater worlds than this earth, we have not yet had an account: poſſibly they are converſant with other parts of God's creation, beſides this little, little globe, which is but as a point in compariſon of the reſt; and with other of God's creatures beſides man, who, may, according to the opinion of our philoſophers, inhabit thoſe worlds; but as nobody knows that part but the Devil, we ſhall not trouble ourſelves with the inquiry.

But 'tis very reaſonable, and indeed probable, that the Devils were more than ordinarily ſurpriſed at the nature and reaſon of all this glorious creation, after they had, with the utmoſt curioſity, viewed all the parts of it: The glories of the

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ſeveral ſyſtems; the immenſe ſpaces in which thoſe glorious bodies that were created, and made part of it, were allowed reſpectively to move; the innumerable fixed ſtars, as ſo many ſuns in the centre of ſo many diſtant ſolar ſyſtems; the (likewiſe innumerable) dark opaque bodies receiving light, and depending upon thoſe ſuns reſpectively for ſuch light, and then reflecting that light again upon, and for the uſe of one another: To ſee the beauty and ſplendor of their forms, the regularity of their poſition, the order and exactneſs, and yet inconceiveable velocity of their motions, the certainty of their revolutions, and the variety and virtue of their influences; and then, which was even to the Devils themſelves moſt aſtoniſhing, that after all the reſt of their obſervations, they ſhould find this whole immenſe work was adapted for, and made ſubſervient to the uſe, delight, and bleſſing, only of one poor ſpecies in itſelf ſmall, and in appearance contemptible: the meaneſt of all the kinds ſuppoſed to inhabit ſo many glorious worlds, as appeared now to be formed; I mean that moon called the earth, and the creature called man; that all was made for him, upheld by the wiſe creator, on his account only; and would neceſſarily end and ceaſe whenever that ſpecies ſhould end, and be determined.

That this creature was to be found no where but (as above) in one little individual moon a ſpot leſs then almoſt any of the moons, which were in ſuch great numbers to be found attendant upon, and preſcribed within every ſyſtem of the whole created heavens. This was aſtoniſhing even to the Devil himſelf; nay, the whole clan of Devils could ſcarce entertain any juſt ideas of the thing; till at laſt Satan, indefatigable in his ſearch or inquiry into the nature and reaſon of this new work; and particularly ſearching into the ſpecies of man, whom he found God had thus placed in the little globe called earth; he ſoon came to an eclairciſſement or a clear underſtanding of the whole. For example:

1. He found this creature, called man, was, however mean and ſmall in his appearance, a kind of a ſeraphic ſpecies; that he was made in the very image of *God*, endowed with reaſonable faculties to know good and evil, and poſſeſſed of a certain thing till then unknown or unheard of, even in hell itſelf; that is, in the habitation of Devils, let that be where it would; *viz.*

2. That *God* had made him indeed of the loweſt and coarſeſt materials: but that he had breathed into him the breath of

life, and that he became a living thing called *ſoul* being a kind of an extraordinary heavenly and divine emanation; and conſequently that man, however mean and tereſtrial his body might be, was yet heaven-born, in his ſpirituous part completely ſeraphic; and after a ſpace of life here (determined to be a ſtate of probation), he ſhould be tranſlated through the regions of death into a life purely and truly heavenly, and which ſhould remain ſo for ever; being capable of knowing and enjoying *God* his maker, and ſtanding in his preſence, as the glorified angels do.

3. That he had the moſt ſublime faculties infuſed into him; was capable not only of knowing and contemplating *God*, and which was ſtill more, of enjoying him, as above: but (which the Devil now was not) capable of honouring and glorifying his Maker; who had alſo condeſcended to accept of honour from him.

4. And, which was ſtill more, that being of an angelic nature, though mixed with, and confined for the preſent in a caſe of mortal fleſh, he was intended to be removed from this earth, after a certain time of life here, to inhabit that heaven, and enjoy that very glory and felicity, from which Satan and his angels had been expelled.

When he found all this, it preſently occurred to him, that *God* had done it all as an act of triumph over him (Satan), and that theſe creatures were only created to people heaven depopulated or ſtripped of its inhabitants by his expulſion, and that theſe were all to be made angels in the Devil's ſtead.

If this thought increaſed his fury and envy, as far as rage of Devil's can be capable of being made greater, it doubtleſs ſet him on work to give a vent to that rage and envy, by ſearching into the nature and conſtitution of this creature called man; and to find out whether he was invulnerable, and could by no means be hurt by the power of hell, or deluded by his ſubtillity; or whether he might be beguiled and deluded; and ſo, inſtead of being preſerved in holineſs and purity, wherein he was certainly created, be brought to fall and rebel, as he (Satan) had done before him; by which inſtead of being tranſplanted into a glorious ſtate after this life in heaven, as his Maker had deſigned him to be, to fill up the angelic choir, and ſupply the place from whence he (Satan) had fallen, he might be made to fall alſo like him, and, in a word, be made a Devil like himſelf.

This convinces us that the Devil has not loſt his nature, power

powers by his fall; and our learned commentator Mr Pool is of the ſame opinion: though he grants that the Devil has loſt his mortal power, or his power of doing good which he can never recover. *Vide* Mr Pool upon Acts xix. 16. where we may particularly obſerve when the man poſſeſſed with an evil ſpirit flew upon the ſeven ſons of Sheva the Jew, who could have exerciſed them in the name of Jeſus without the authority of Jeſus, for without faith in him he flew on them, and maſtered them, ſo that they fled out of the houſe from the Devil, conquered, naked, and wounded. But of this power of the Devil I ſhall treat of it by itſelf.

In a word, and to ſum up all the Devil's ſtory from his firſt expulſion it ſtands laſt. For ſo many years as were between his fall, and the creation of man, though we have no memoirs of his particular affairs, we have reaſon to believe he was without any manner of employment; but a certain tormenting endeavour to be always expreſſing his rage and enmity againſt heaven; I call it tormenting, becauſe ever diſappointed; every thought about it proving empty every attempt toward it abortive; leaving him only light enough to ſee ſtill more and more reaſon to deſpair of ſucceſs: and that this made his condition ſtill more and more an hell than it was before.

After a ſpace of duration in this miſery, which we have no light given us to meaſure or judge of, he at length diſcovered the new creation of man, as above; upon which he ſoon found matter to ſet himſelf to work, and has been buſily employed ever ſince.

And now indeed there may be room to ſuggeſt a local hell, and the confinement of ſouls, (made corrupt and degenerate by his aſſociates in that place), although he himſelf, as is ſtill apparent, is not yet confined to it.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Power of the DEVIL, *at the time of the Creation of this World; whether it has not been farther ſtrengthened and limited ſince that Time; and what ſhifts and ſtratagems he is obliged to make uſe of to compaſs his deſigns upon Mankind.*

CUNNING men have fabled, and though it be without either religion, authority, or phyſical foundation, it may be we may like it never the worſe for that; that when God

made the ſtars, and all the heavenly luminaries, the Devil, to mimic his Maker, and inſult his new creation, made comets, in imitation of the fixed ſtars; but that the compoſition of them being combuſtible, when they came to wander in the abyſs, rolling by an irregular ill-grounded motion, they took fire, in their approach to ſome of thoſe great bodies of flame, the fixed ſtars; and being thus kindled (like a fire work unſkilfully let off), they then took wild and excentric, as alſo different motions of their own, out of Satan's direction, and beyond his power to regulate ever after.

Let this thought ſtand by itſelf, it matters not to our purpoſe whether we believe any thing of it, or no; 'tis enough to our caſe, that if Satan had any ſuch power then, he has no ſuch power now; and that leads me to enquire into his more recent limitations.

I am to ſuppoſe he and all his accomplices, being confounded at the diſcovery of the new creation, and racking their wits to find out the meaning of it, had at laſt (no matter how) diſcovered the whole ſyſtem, and concluded, as I have ſaid, that the creature, called man, was to be their ſucceſſor in the heavenly manſions; upon which I ſuggeſt, that the firſt motion of hell was to deſtroy this new work, and, if poſſible, to overwhelm it.

But when they came to make the attempt, they found their chains were not long enough, and that they could not reach the extremes of the ſyſtem: they had no power either to break the order, or to ſtop the motion, diſlocate the parts, or confound the ſituation of things; they traverſed, no doubt, the whole work, viſited every ſtar, landed upon every ſolid, and ſailed upon every fluid, in the whole ſcheme, to ſee what miſchief they could do.

Upon a long and full ſurvey, they came to this point in their enquiry, that, in ſhort, they could do nothing by force; that they could not diſplace any part, annihilate any atom, or deſtroy any life, in the whole creation; but that as Omnipotence had created it, ſo the ſame Omnipotence had armed it at all points againſt the utmoſt power of hell: had made the ſmalleſt creature in it invulnerable, as to Satan; ſo that without the permiſſion of the ſame power which had made heaven, and conquered the Devil, he could do nothing at all, as to deſtroying any thing that God had made; no, not the little diminutive thing called man, whom Satan ſaw ſo much reaſon to hate, as being created to ſucceed him in happineſs in heaven.

Satan

Satan found him placed out of his power to hurt, or out of his reach to touch: and here, by the way, appears the ſecond conqueſt of heaven over the Devil; that having placed his rival, as it were, juſt before his face, and ſhewed the hateful ſight to him, he ſaw written upon his image, *Touch him if you dare.*

It cannot be doubted but, had it not been thus, man is ſo far from being a match for the Devil, that one of Satan's leaſt imps or angels could deſtroy all the race of them in the world! ay, world and all, in a moment.

As he is prince of the power of the air, taking the air for the elementary world, how eaſily could he, at one blaſt, ſweep all the ſurface of the earth into the ſea; or drive weighty immenſe ſurges of the ocean over the whole plain of the earth, and deluge the globe at once with a ſtorm? Or how eaſily could he, who, by the ſituation of his empire, muſt be ſuppoſed able to manage the clouds, draw them up in ſuch poſition as ſhould naturally produce thunders and lightning, cauſe thoſe lightnings to blaſt the earth, daſh in pieces all the buildings, burn all the populous towns and cities, and lay waſte the world?

At the ſame time, he might command ſuited quantities of ſublimated air to burſt out of the bowels of the earth, and overwhelm and ſwallow up, in the opening chaſms, all the inhabitants of the globe.

In a word, Satan left to himſelf as a Devil, and to the power which, by virtue of his ſeraphic original, he muſt be veſted with, was able to have made deviliſh work in the world, if, by ſuperior power, he was not reſtrained.

But there is no doubt, at leaſt to me, but that with his fall from heaven, as he loſt the rectitude and glory of his angelic nature, I mean his innocence, ſo he loſt the power too that he had before; and that when he firſt commenced Devil, he received the chains of reſtraint too, as the badge of his apoſtacy; viz. a general prohibition to do any thing to the prejudice of his Creator, or to act any thing by force or violence without ſpecial permiſſion.

This prohibition was not ſent him by a meſſenger, or by an order in writing, or proclaimed from heaven by a law; but Satan, by a ſtrange, inviſible, and unaccountable impreſſion, felt the reſtraint within him; and at the ſame time that his moral capacity was not taken away, yet his power of exerting that capacity felt the reſtraint, and left him unable to do, even what he was able to do at the ſame time.

I make no queſtion but the Devil is ſenſible of this reſtraint; that is to ſay, not as it is a reſtraint only, or as an effect of his expulſion from heaven, but as it prevents his capital deſign against man, whom, for the reaſon I have given already, he entertains a mortal hatred of, and would deſtroy with all his heart if he might; and therefore, like a chained maſtiff, we find him oftentimes making an horrid helliſh clamour and noiſe, barking and howling, and frighting the people, letting them know that if he was looſe, he would tear them in pieces; but, at the ſame time, his very fury ſhakes his chain, which lets them know, to their ſatisfaction, he can only bark, but cannot bite.

Some are of opinion that the Devil is not reſtrained ſo much by the ſuperior power of his Sovereign Maker: but that all his milder meaſures with men are the effect of a political ſcheme, and done upon mature deliberation: that it was reſolved to act thus, in the great council or p——t of Devils called upon this very occaſion, when they were firſt informed of the creation of man; and eſpecially when they conſidered what kind of creature he was, and what might probably be the reaſon of making him, *viz.* to fill up the vacancies in heaven: I ſay, that then the Devils reſolved that it was not for their intereſt to fall upon him with fury and rage, and to deſtroy the ſpecies; for that this would be no benefit at all to them, and would only cauſe another original man to be created, for that they knew God could, by the ſame Omnipotence, form as many new ſpecies of creatures as he pleaſed, and, if he thought fit, create them in heaven too, out of the reach of Devils or evil ſpirits; and that therefore to deſtroy man, would no way anſwer their end.

On the other hand, examining ſtrictly the mould of this new made creature, and of what materials he was formed: how mixed up of a nature convertible and pervertible; capable indeed of infinite excellence, and conſequently of eternal felicity; but ſubject likewiſe to corruption and degeneracy, and conſequently to eternal miſery: that, inſtead of being fit to ſupply the places of Satan and his rejected tribe (the expelled angels) in heaven, and filling up the thrones or ſtalls in the celeſtial choir, they might, if they could but be brought into crime become a race of rebels and traitors like the reſt, and ſo come at laſt to keep them company, as well in the place of eternal miſery, as in the merit of it; and, in a word become Devils inſtead of angels.

Upon this diſcovery, I ſay, they found it infinitely more

for the intereſt of Satan's infernal kingdom, to go another way to work with mankind, and ſee if it were poſſible, by the ſtrength of their infernal wit and counſels, to lay ſome ſnare for him, and by ſome ſtratagem, to bring him to eternal ruin and miſery.

This being then approved as their only method (and the Devil ſhewed he was no fool in the choice), he next, reſolved, that there was no time to be loſt: that it was to be ſet about immediately, before the race was multiplied, and by that means the work be not made greater only, but perhaps the more difficult too. Accordingly the diligent Devil went inſtantly about it, agreebly to all the ſtory of Eve and the Serpent, as before; the belief of which, whether hiſtorically or allegorically, is not at all obſtructed by this hypotheſis.

I do not affirm that this was the caſe at firſt, becauſe being not preſent in that black devine, at leaſt not that I know of (for who knows where he was, or was not, in his pre-exiſtent ſtate?), I cannot be poſitive in the reſolve that paſſed their; but, except for ſome very little contradictions which we find in the ſacred writings, I ſhould I confeſs, incline to believe it hiſtorically; and I ſhall ſpeak of thoſe things which I call *Contradictions to it*, more largely hereafter.

In the mean time, be it one way or other, that is to ſay, either Satan had no power to have proceeded with man by violence, and to have deſtroyed him as ſoon as he was made; or that he had the power, but choſe rather to proceed by other methods, to deceive and debauch him; I ſay, be it which you pleaſe, I am ſtill of opinion, that it really was not the Devil's buſineſs to deſtroy the ſpecies; that it would have been nothing to the purpoſe, and no advantage at all to him, if he had done it; for that, as above, God could immediately have created another ſpecies to the ſame end, whom he either could have made invulnerable, and not ſubject to the Devil's power, or removed him out of Satan's reach; placed him out of the Devil's ken, in heaven, or ſome other place where the Devil could not come to hurt him; and that therefore it is infinitely more his advantage, and more ſuited to his real deſign of defeating the end of man's creation, to debauch him, and make a Devil of him, that he may be rejected like himſelf, and increaſe the infernal kingdom and company in the lake of miſery *in æternum*.

It may be true, for ought I know, that Satan has not the power of deſtruction put into his hand, and that he cannot take

take away the life of a man: and it ſeems probable to be ſo, from the ſtory of Satan and Job, when Satan appeared among the ſons of God, as the text ſays, Job i. 6. Now when God gave ſuch a character of Job to him, and aſked him if he had conſidered his ſervant Job, ver. 8. why did not the Devil go immediately and exert his malice againſt the good man at once, to let his Maker ſee what would become of his ſervant Job in his diſtreſs; On the contrary, we ſee he only anſwers by ſhewing the reaſon of Job's good behaviour: that it was but common gratitude for the bleſſing and protection he enjoyed, ver. 10. and pleading, that if his eſtate was taken away, and he was expoſed as he (Satan) was, to be a beggar and a vagabond, going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down therein, he ſhould be a very Devil too like himſelf, and curſe God to his face.

Upon this, the text ſays, that God anſwered, ver. 11. "Behold! all that he hath is in thy power." Now it is plain here that God gave up Job's wealth and eſtate, nay, his family, and the lives of his children, and ſervants, into the Devil's power; and accordingly, like a true mercileſs Devil, as he is, he deſtroyed them all: he moved the Sabeans to fall upon the oxen and the aſſes, and carry them off: he moved the Chaldeans to fall upon the camels and the ſervants; to carry off the firſt and murder the laſt: he made lightning flaſh upon the poor ſheep, and kill them all; and he blowed his houſe down upon his poor children, and buried them all in the ruins.

Now here is (1.) a ſpecimen of Satan's good-will to mankind, and what havock the Devil would make in the world, if he might; and here is a teſtimony too that he could not do this without leave; ſo that I cannot but be of the opinion, he has ſome limitations, ſome bounds ſet to his natural fury; a certain number of links in his chain, which he cannot exceed; or, in a word, that he cannot go a foot beyond his tether.

The ſame kind of evidence we have in the Goſpel, Matth. viii. 31.; where Satan could not ſo much as poſſeſs the filthieſt and meaneſt of all creatures, the ſwine, till he had aſked leave; and that, ſtill to ſhew his good will, as ſoon as he had gotten leave, he hurried them all into the ſea, and choaked them. Theſe, I ſay, are ſome of the reaſons why I am not willing to ſay the Devil is not reſtrained in power; but, on the other hand, we are told of ſo many miſchievous things the Devil has done in the world, by virtue of his dominion over the elements, and by other teſtimonies of his power, that I do not know

now what to think of it; though, upon the whole, the firſt the ſafeſt opinion; for if we ſhould believe the laſt, we might, r ought I know, be brought like American Indians, to wor-ip him at laſt, that he may do us no harm.

And now I have named thoſe people in America, I confeſs would go a great way in favour of Satan's generoſity, as ell as in teſtimony of his power, if we might believe all the counts which indeed authors are pretty well agreed in the uth of: namely of the miſchiefs the Devil does in thoſe coun-ies where his dominion ſeems to be eſtabliſhed; how he uſes em when they deny him the homage he claims of them as his ue; what havock and combuſtion he makes among them; d how beneficent he is (or at leaſt negative in his miſchiefs) hen they appeaſe him by their helliſh ſacrifices.

Likewiſe, we ſee a teſt of his wicked ſubtility in his man-gement of thoſe dark nations, when he was more immediate-worſhiped by them; namely the making them believe that l their good weather, rains, dews, and kind influences upon e earth, to make it fruitful, were from him; whereas they ally were the common bleſſings of a higher hand, and came t from him (the Devil), but from him that made the Devil, d made him a Devil or a fallen angel by his curſe.

But to go back to the method the Devil took with the firſt mankind: It is plain the policy of hell was right, though e execution of the reſolves they took did not fully anſwer eir end neither: for Satan, faſtening upon poor, proud, ri-culous mother Eve, as I have ſaid before, made preſently a ue judgment of her capacities, and of her temper; took her the right handle, and, ſoothing her vanity (which is this y the ſofteſt place in the head of all the ſex), wheedled her t of her ſenſes, by praiſing her beauty, and promiſing to make r a goddeſs.

The fooliſh woman yielded preſently; and that, we are told, the reaſon why the ſame method ſo ſtrangely takes with all r poſterity, *viz.* that you are ſure to prevail with them, if u can but once perſuade them that you believe that they are itty and handſome; for the Devil, you may obſerve, never uits any hold he gets; and having once found a way into the art, always takes care to keep the door open, that any of s agents may enter after him without any more difficulty. ence the ſame argument, eſpecially the laſt, has ſo bewitch-g an influence on the ſex, that they rarely deny you any thing ter they are but weak enough, and vain enough, to accept of

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the praiſes you offer them on that head. On the other hand, you are ſure they never forgive you the unpardonable crime of ſaying they are ugly or diſagreeable. It is ſuggeſted that the firſt method the Devil took to inſinuate all thoſe fine things into Eve's giddy head, was by creeping cloſe to her one night, when ſhe was aſleep, and laying his mouth to her ear, whiſpering all the fine things to her, which he knew would ſet her fancy on tip-toe, and ſo make her receive them involuntarily into her mind: knowing well enough, that when ſhe had formed ſuch ideas in her ſoul, however they came there, ſhe would never be quiet till ſhe had worked them up to ſome extraordinary thing or other.

It was evident what the Devil aimed at, namely, that ſhe ſhould break in upon the command of God, and ſo, having corrupted herſelf, bring the curſe upon herſelf and all her race, as God had threatened. But why the pride of Eve ſhould be ſo eaſily tickled by the notion of her exquiſite beauty, when there was then no proſpect of the uſe or want of thoſe charms, that indeed makes a kind of difficulty here, which the learned have not determined. For,

1. If ſhe had been as ugly as the Devil, ſhe had nobody to rival her; ſo that ſhe need not fear Adam ſhould leave her, and get another miſtreſs.

2. If ſhe had been as bright and beautiful as an angel, ſhe had no other admirer but poor Adam; and he could have no room to be jealous of her, or afraid ſhe ſhould cuckold him: ſo that, in ſhort, Eve had no ſuch occaſion for her beauty, nor could ſhe make any uſe of it to a bad purpoſe, or to a good; and therefore I believe the Devil, who is too cunning to do any thing that ſignifies nothing, rather tempted her by the hope of increaſing her wit, than her beauty.

But to come back to the method of Satan's tempting her, *viz.* by whiſpering to her in her ſleep: It was a cunning trick, that is the truth of it; and by that means he certainly ſet her head a madding after deiſm, and to be made a goddeſs; and then backed it with the ſubtile talk he had with her afterwards.

I am the more particular upon this part, becauſe, however the Devil may have been the firſt that ever practiſed it, yet I can aſſure him the experiment has been tried upon many a woman ſince, to the wheedling her out of her modeſty, as well as her ſimplicity; and the cunning men tell us ſtill, that if you can

can come at a woman when ſhe is in a deep ſleep, and whiſper to her cloſe to her ear, ſhe will certainly dream of the thing you ſay to her, and ſo will a man too.

Well, be this ſo to her race or not, it was, it ſeems, ſo to her: for ſhe waked with her head filled with pleaſing ideas, and, as ſome will have it, unlawful deſires; ſuch as to be ſure, ſhe had never entertained before. Theſe are ſuppoſed to be fatally infuſed in her dream, and ſuggeſted to her waking ſoul, when the organ of the ear which conveyed them was doſed and inſenſible. Strange fate of ſleeping in Paradiſe! that whereas we have but notice of two ſleeps there, that in one a woman ſhould go out of Adam, and in the other the Devil ſhould come into Eve.

Certainly, when Satan firſt made the attempt upon Eve, he did not think he ſhould have ſo eaſily conquered her, or have brought his buſineſs about ſo ſoon; the Devil himſelf could not have imagined ſhe ſhould have been ſo ſoon brought to forget the command given, or at leaſt who gave it, and have ventured to tranſgreſs againſt him, and made her forget that God had told her it ſhould be death to her to touch it; and, above all, that ſhe ſhould aſpire to be as wiſe as him, who was ſo ignorant before, as to believe it was for fear of her being like himſelf, that he had forbid it her.

Well might ſhe be ſaid to be the weaker veſſel, though Adam himſelf had little enough to ſay for his being the ſtronger of the two, when he was over perſuaded (if it was done by perſuaſion) by his wife to the ſame thing.

And mark how wiſe they were after they had eaten, and what fools they had both acted like, even to one another; nay, even all the knowledge they attained to by it was, for aught I ſee, only to know that they were fools, and to be ſenſible both of ſin and ſhame; and ſee how ſimply they acted, I ſay, upon their having committed the crime, and being detected in it:

" View them to day converſing with their God,
" His image both enjoy'd and underſtood:
" To-morrow ſkulking with a ſordid flight
" Among the buſhes, from the Infinite,
" As if that power was blind, which gave them ſight;
" With ſenſeleſs labour tagging fig-leaf veſts,
" To hide their bodies from the ſight of beaſts.
" Hark! how the fool pleads ſaint, for forfeit life;
" Firſt he reproaches heaven, and then his wife:
" The woman which thou gav'ſt, as if the gift
" Could rob him of the little reaſon left;

" A weak pretence to ſhift his early crime,
" As if accuſing her would excuſe him;
" But thus encroaching crime dethrones the ſenſe,
" And intercepts the heavenly influence:
" Debauches reaſon, makes the man a fool,
" And turns his active light to ridicule."

It muſt be confeſſed, that it was an unaccountable degeneracy, even of their common reaſoning, which Adam and Eve both fell into upon the firſt committing the offence of taſting the forbidden fruit; if that was their being made as Gods, it made but a poor appearance in its firſt coming, to hide their nakedneſs when there was no body to ſee them, and cover themſelves among the buſhes from their Maker: But thus it was, and this the Devil had brought them to; and well might he, and all the clan of hell, as Mr Milton brings them in, laugh and triumph over the man after the blow was given, as having ſo egregiouſly abuſed and deluded them both.

But here, to be ſure, began the Devil's new kingdom; as he had now ſeduced the two firſt creatures, he was pretty ſure of ſucceſs upon all the race; and therefore prepared to attack them alſo, as ſoon as they came on; nor was their increaſing multitude any diſcouragement to his attempt, but juſt the contrary; for he had agents enough to employ, if every man and woman that ſhould be born was to want a Devil to wait upon them, ſeparately and ſingly to ſeduce them; whereas ſome whole nations have been ſuch willing ſubjects to him, that one of his ſeraphic imps may, for aught we know, have been enough to guide a whole country: the people being entirely ſubjected to his government for many ages, as in America, for example, where ſome will have it that he conveyed the firſt inhabitants; at leaſt, if he did not, we don't well know who did, or how they got thither.

And how came all the communication to be ſo intirely cut off between the nations of Europe and Africa, from whence America muſt certainly have been peopled, or elſe the Devil muſt have done it indeed? I ſay, how came the communication to be ſo intirely cut off between them, that except the time, whenever it was, that people did at firſt reach from one to the other, none ever came back to give their friends any account of their ſucceſs, or invite them to follow? Nor did they hear of one another afterwards, as we have reaſon to think: Did Satan politically keep them thus aſunder, leſt news from heaven ſhould reach them, and ſo they ſhould be recovered out of his

his government? We cannot tell how to give any other rational account of it, that a nation, nay, a quarter of the world, or as ſome will have it to be, half the globe, ſhould be peopled from Europe or Africa, or both, and no body ever go after them, or come back from them, in above three thouſand years after.

Nay, that thoſe countries ſhould be peopled when there was no navigation in uſe in theſe parts of the world, no ſhips made that could carry proviſions enough to ſupport the people that ſailed in them, but that they muſt have been ſtarved to death before they could reach the ſhore of America; the ferry from Europe or Africa in any part (which we have known navigation to be practiſed in) being at leaſt 1000 miles, and in moſt places much more.

But as to the Americans, let the Devil and them alone to account for their coming thither; this we are certain of, that we knew nothing of them for many a hundred years: and when we did, when the diſcovery was made, they that went from hence found Satan in a full and quiet poſſeſſion of them, ruling them with an arbitrary goverment, particular to himſelf. He had led them into a blind ſubjection to himſelf, nay, I might call it devotion (for it was all of religion that was to be found among them); worſhipping horrible idols in his name, to whom he directed human ſacrifices continually to be made, till he deluged the country with blood, and ripened them up for the deſtruction that followed, from the invaſion of the Spaniards who he knew would hurry them all out of the world as faſt as he (the Devil himſelf could deſire of them).

But to go back a little to the original of things; It is evident that Satan has made a much better market of mankind, by thus ſubtally attacking them, and bringing them to break with their Maker, as he had done before them; than he could have done by fulminating upon them at firſt, and ſending them all out of the world at once; for now he has peopled his own dominions with them; and though a remnant are ſnatched as it were, out of his clutches, by the agency of invincible grace, of which I am not to diſcourſe in this place, yet this may be ſaid of the Devil, without offence, that he has in ſome ſenſe carried his point, and, as it were, forced his Maker to be ſatisfied with a part of mankind, and the leaſt part too, inſtead of the great glory he would have brought to himſelf by keeping them all in his ſervice.

Mr Milton as I have noted above, brings in the Devil and

all hell with him, making a *feu de joye* for the victory Satan obtained over one ſilly woman. Indeed it was a piece of ſucceſs greater in its conſequence than in the immediate apearance; nor was the conqueſt ſo complete as Satan himſelf imagined to make, ſince the promiſe of a redemption out of his hands, which was immediately made to the man, in behalf of himſelf and his believing poſterity, was a great diſappointment to Satan, and, as it were, ſnatched the beſt part of his victory out of his hands.

It is certain, the devils knew what the meaning of that promiſe was, and who was to be the ſeed of the woman namely the incarnate Son of God; and that it was a ſecond blow to the whole infernal body; but, as if they had reſolved to let that alone, Satan went on with his buſineſs; and as he had introduced crime into the common parent of mankind, and thereby ſecured the contamination of blood, and the deſcent or propagation of the corrupt ſeed, he had nothing to do but to aſſiſt nature in time to come, to carry on its own rebellion, and act itſelf in the breaſts of Eve's tainted poſterity; and that indeed has been the Devil's buſineſs ever ſince his firſt victory upon the kind, to this day.

His ſucceſs in this part has been ſuch, that we ſee, upon innumerable occaſions, a general defection has followed; a kind of taint upon nature, call it what you will, a blaſt upon the race of mankind; and were it not for one thing, he had ruined the whole family; I ſay, were it not for one thing, namely, a ſelected company or number, which his Maker has reſolved he ſhall not be able to corrupt, or if he does, the ſending the promiſed ſeed ſhall recover back again from him, by the power of irreſiſtible grace; which number thus ſelected or elected, call it which we will, are ſtill to ſupply the vacancies in heaven, which Satan's defection has left open; and what was before filled up with created ſeraphs, is now to be reſtored by recovered ſaints, by whom infinite glory is to accrue to the kingdom of the Redeemer.

This glorious eſtabliſhment has robbed Satan of all the joy of his victory, and left him juſt where he was defeated and diſappointed; nor does the poſſeſſion of all the myriads of the ſons of perdition, who yet (ſome are of opinion) will be ſnatched from him too at laſt; I ſay, the poſſeſſion of all theſe makes no amends to him; for he is ſuch a Devil in his nature, that the envy at thoſe he cannot ſeduce, eats out all the ſatisfaction of the miſchief he has done in ſeducing all the reſt; but I muſt not preach, ſo I return to things as much needful to know, though leſs ſolemn.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Progress of Satan in carrying on his conquest over Mankind, from the fall of Eve to the Deluge.

I Doubt, if the Devil was aſked the queſtion plainly, he would confeſs, that after he had conquered Eve by his own wicked contrivance, and then, by her aſſiſtance, had brought Adam too (like a fool as he was) into the ſame gulph of miſery, he thought he had done his work, compaſſed the whole race, that they were now his own, and that he had put an end to the grand deſign of their creation; namely, of peopling heaven, with a new angelic race of ſouls, who, when glorified, ſhould make up the defection of the hoſt of hell, that had been expunged by their crime; in a word, that he had gotten a better conqueſt than if he had deſtroyed them all.

But, in the midſt of his conqueſt, he found a check put to the advantages he expected to reap from his victory, by the immediate promiſe of grace to a part of the poſterity of Adam, who, notwithſtanding the fall, were to be purchaſed by the Meſſiah, and ſnatched out of his (Satan's) hands, and over whom he could make no final conqueſt; ſo that his power met with a new limitation, and that ſuch as indeed fully diſappointed him in the main thing he aimed at; viz. preventing the beatitudes of mankind; which were thus ſecured (and what if the numbers of mankind were upon this account increaſed in ſuch a manner, that the ſelected number ſhould, by length of time, amount to juſt as many as the whole race had they not fallen, would have amounted to in all?). And thus, indeed, the world may be ſaid to be upheld and continued for the ſake of thoſe few; ſince, till their number can be completed, the creation cannot fall, any more than that without them, or but for them, it would not have ſtood.

But leaving this ſpeculation, and not having inquired of Satan what he has to ſay on that ſubject, let us go back to the antediluvian world: The Devil, to be ſure, gained his point upon Eve, and in her upon all her race: He drew her into ſin, got her turned out of paradiſe, and the man with her: The next thing was to go to work with her poſterity, and particularly with her two ſons Cain and Abel.

Adam having, notwithſtanding his fall, repented very ſincerely of his ſin, received the promiſe of redemption and par-

don, with an humble, but believing heart; charity bids us ſuppoſe that he led a very religious and ſober life ever after; and, eſpecially in the firſt part of his time, that he brought up his children very ſoberly, and gave them all the neceſſary advantages of a religious education, and a good introduction into the world, that he was capable of; and that Eve likewiſe aſſiſted to both in her place and degree.

Their two eldeſt ſons, Cain and Abel, the one heir apparent to the patriarchal empire, and the other heir preſumptive, I ſuppoſe, alſo lived very ſober and religious lives; and as the principles of natural religion dictated an homage and ſubjection due to the Almighty Maker, as an acknowledgement of his mercies, and a recognition of their obedience; ſo the received uſage of religion dictating, at that time, that this homage was to be paid by a ſacrifice, that either of them brought a free will offering to be predicated to God reſpectively for themſelves and families.

How it was, and for what reaſon, that God had reſpect to the offering of Abel, which, the learned ſay, was a lamb of the firſtlings of the flock, and did not give any teſtimony of the like reſpect to Cain and his offering, which was of the firſt fruits of the earth, the offerings being equally ſuited to the reſpective employment of the men, that is not my preſent buſineſs; but this we find made heart burnings, and raiſed envy and jealouſy in the mind of Cain; and at that door the Devil immediately entered; for he, who, from the beginning, was very diligent in his way, never ſlipped any opportunity, or miſſed any advantages, that the circumſtances of mankind offered him to do miſchief.

What ſhape or appearance the Devil took up to enter into a converſation with Cain upon the ſubject, that authors do not take upon them to determine; but it is generally ſuppoſed he perſonated ſome of Cain's ſons or grandſons to begin the diſcourſe, who attacked their father, or perhaps grandfather, upon this occaſion, in the following manner, or to that purpoſe:

D. Sir, I perceive your majeſty (for the firſt race were certainly all monarchs as great as kings, to their immediate poſterity) to be greatly diſturbed of late; your countenance is changed, your noble chearfulneſs, the glories of your face, are ſtrangely ſunk and gone, and you are not the man you uſed to be. Pleaſe you majeſty to communicate your griefs to us your children: you may be ſure, that, if it be poſſible, we will procure

cure you relief, and reſtore your delights, the loſs of which, if thus you go on to ſubject yourſelf to too much melancholy, will be very hurtful to you, and, in the end, deſtroy you.

Cain. It is very kind, my dear children, to ſhew your reſpect thus to your true progenitor, and to offer your aſſiſtance: I confeſs, as you ſay, my mind is oppreſſed and diſpleaſed; but, though it is very heavy, yet I know not which way to look for relief; for the diſtemper is above our reach, no cure can be found for it on earth.

D. Do not ſay ſo, ſir; there can be no diſeaſe ſure on earth, but may be cured on earth; if it be a mental evil, we have heard that your great anceſtor, the firſt father of us all, who lives ſtill on the great weſtern plains towards the ſea, is the oracle to which all his children fly for direction in ſuch caſes as are out of the reach of the ordinary underſtanding of mankind; pleaſe you to give leave, we will take a journey to him, and, repreſenting your caſe to him, we will hear his advice, and bring it to you with all ſpeed, for the eaſe of your mind.

Cain. I know not whether he can reach my caſe or no.

D. Doubtleſs he may; and, if not, the labour of our journey is nothing, when placed in competition with the eaſe of your mind; it is but a few days travel loſt; and you will not be the worſe, if we fail of the deſired ſucceſs.

Cain. The offer is filial, and I accept your affectionate concern for me, with the juſt ſenſe of an obliged parent; go then, and my bleſſing be upon you: But alas! why do I bleſs! can he bleſs whom God has not bleſſed?

D. O! Sir, do not ſay ſo; has not God bleſſed you? are you not the ſecond ſovereign of the earth? and does he not converſe with you face to face? are not you the oracle to all your growing poſterity; and next after his Sovereign Imperial Majeſty Lord Adam, patriarch of the world?

Cain. But has not God rejected me, and refuſed to converſe any more with me, while he daily favours and countenances my younger brother Abel, as if he reſolved to ſet him up to rule over me.

D. No, Sir, that cannot be, you cannot be diſturbed at ſuch a thing; is not the right of ſovereignty yours by primogeniture? can God himſelf take that away, when it is once given? are you not Lord Adam's eldeſt ſon? are not you the firſt born glory of the creation? and does not the government deſcend to you by the divine right of birth and blood?

Cain. But what does all that ſignify to me, while God appears

pears to favour and careſs my younger brother, and to ſhine upon him, while a black dejection, and token of diſpleaſure, ſurrounds me every day and he does not appear to me as he uſed to do?

D And what need your Majeſty be concerned at that, if it be ſo? if he does not appear pleaſed, you have the whole world to enjoy yourſelf in, and all your numerous and riſing poſterity adore and honour you; what need theſe remote things be any diſturbance to you.

Cain. How! my children, not the favour of God be valued! yes, yes, in his favour of life; what can all the world avail without the ſmiles and countenance of him that made it?

D. Doubtleſs, ſir, he that made the world, and placed you at the head of it all, to govern and direct it, has made it agreeable; and it is able to give you a full ſatisfaction and enjoyment, if you pleaſe to conſider it well, though you were never to converſe with him all the while you live in it.

Cain. you are quite wrong there my children, quite wrong.

D. But do you not, great ſir, ſee all your children, as well as us, rejoicing in the plenty of all things, and are they not completely happy, and yet they know little of that great God? he ſeldom converſes among us; we hear of him indeed by your ſage advices, and we bring our offerings to you for him, as you direct; and when that's done, we enjoy whatever our hearts deſire; and ſo doubtleſs may you in an abundant manner, if you pleaſe.

Cain. But your felicity is wrong placed then, or you ſuppoſe that God is pleaſed and ſatisfied in that your offerings are brought to me; but what would you ſay, if you knew that God is diſpleaſed? that he does not accept your offerings? that when I ſacrificed to him in behalf of you all, he rejected my offerings, though I brought a princely gift, being of the fineſt of the wheat, the choiceſt and earlieſt fruits, and the ſweeteſt of the oil, an offering ſuited to the giver of them all?

D. But if you offered them, ſir, how are you ſure they were not accepted?

Cain. Yes, yes, I am ſure; did not my brother Abel offer, at the ſame time, a lamb of his flock? for he, you know delights in cattle, and covers the mountains with his herds: over him, all the while he was ſacrificing, a bright emanation ſhone chearing and enlivening, a pledge of favour; and light ambient flames played hovering in the lower air, as if attending his ſacrifice; and, when ready prepared, immediately deſcended, and

and burnt up the fleſh, a ſweet odoriferous ſavour aſcending to him, who thus teſtified his acceptance; whereas, over my head, a black cloud, miſty and diſtilling vapour, hung dripping upon the humble altar I had raiſed, and wetting the fineſt and choiceſt things I had prepared, ſullied and defaced them; the wood, unapt to burn up the moiſture which fell, ſcarce received the fire I brought to kindle it; and, even then, rather ſmothered and choaked, then kindled into a flame; in a word, it went quite out, without conſuming what was brought to be offered up.

D. Let not our truly reverenced lord and father be diſquieted at all this; if he accepts not what you bring, you are diſcharged of the debt, and need bring no more; nor have the trouble of ſuch laboured collections of rarities any more; when he thinks fit to require it again, you will have notice, no queſtion, and then it, being called for, will be accepted, or elſe why ſhould it be required?

Cain. That may indeed be the caſe, nor do I think of attempting any more to bring an offering; for I rather take it, that I am forbidden for the preſent; but then, what is it that my younger brother triumphs in? and how am I inſulted, in that he and his houſe are all joy and triumph, as if they had ſome great advantage over me, in that their offering was accepted, when mine was not?

D. Does he triumph over your majeſty, our lord and ſovereign? Give us but your order, and we will go and pull him and all his generation to pieces; for to triumph over you, who is his elder brother, is an horrid rebellion and treaſon, and he ought to be expelled the ſociety of mankind.

Cain. I think ſo too, indeed; however my dear children, and faithful ſubjects, though I accept your offer of duty and ſervice, yet I will conſider very well, before I take up arms againſt my brother; beſides, our ſovereign father, and patriarchal lord Adam, being yet alive, it is not my right to act offenſively without his command.

D. We are ready therefore to carry your petition to him, and doubt not to obtain his licence and commiſſion too, to impower you to do yourſelf juſtice upon your younger brother; who, being your vaſſal, or at leaſt inferior, he is junior in birth, inſults you upon the fancied opinion of having a larger ſhare in the divine favour, and receiving a bleſſing on his ſacrifices, on pretence of the ſame favour being denied you.

Cain. I am content: go then, and give a juſt account of the ſtate of our affairs.

D. We ſhall ſoon return with the agreeable anſwer: let not our lord and father continue ſad and dejected, but depend upon a ſpeedy relief, by the aſſiſtance of thy numerous iſſue, all devoted to thy intereſt and felicity.

Cain. My bleſſing be with you in your way, and give you a favourable reception at the venerable tent of our univerſal lord and father.

NOTE. Here the curſed race being fully given up to the direction of the evil ſpirit, which ſo early poſſeſſed them, and ſwelling with rage at the innocent Abel and his whole family, they reſolved upon forming a moſt wicked and deteſtable lie, to bring about the advice which they had already given their father Cain a touch of: and to pretend that Adam, being juſtly provoked at the undutiful behaviour of Abel, had given Cain a commiſſion to chaſtiſe him, and by force to cut him off, and all his family, as guilty of rebellion and pride.

Filled with this miſchievous and bloody reſolution, they came back to their father Cain, after ſtaying a few days, ſuch as were ſufficient to make Cain believe they had been at the ſpacious plains where Adam dwelt; the ſame which are now called the bleſſed valleys, or the plains of Mecca in Arabia Felix, near the banks of the Red Sea.

NOTE HERE ALSO, That Cain having received a wicked hint from theſe men, his children and ſubjects, as before, intimating that Abel had broken the law of primogeniture in his behaviour towards him (Cain); and that he might be juſtly puniſhed for it; Satan, that cunning manager of all our wayward paſſions, fanned the fire of envy and jealouſy with his utmoſt ſkill all the while his other agents were abſent; and by the time they came back, had blown it up into ſuch an heat of fury and rage, that it wanted nothing but air to make it burn out, as it ſoon afterwards did, in a furious flame of wrath and revenge, even to blood and deſtruction.

Juſt in the very critical moment, while things ſtood thus with Cain, Satan brings in his wicked inſtruments, as if juſt arrived with the return of his meſſage from Adam, at whoſe court they had been for orders; and thus they, that is, the Devil, aſſuming to ſpeak by them, approach their father with an air of ſolemn, but chearful ſatisfaction at the ſucceſs of their embaſſy.

D. Hail ſovereign, reverend, patriarchal lord! we come with joy to render thee an account of the ſucceſs of our meſſage.

Cain

Cain. Have you then ſeen the venerable tents where dwell he heaven born, the angelic pair, to whom all human reverence, highly due, is and ought always to be humbly paid?

D. We have.

Cain. Did you, together with my grand requeſt, a juſt and umble homage for me pay, to the great ſire and mother of ankind.

D. We did.

Cain, Did you in humble language repreſent the griefs and guiſh which oppreſs my ſoul?

D. We did, and back their bleſſings to thee bring.

Cain. I hope, with humbleſt ſigns of filial duty, you took for me on your bended knees?

D. We did, and had our ſhare; the patriarch lifting up s hands to heaven, expreſſed his joy to ſee his ſpreading ce, and bleſſed us all.

Cain. Did you my ſolemn meſſage too deliver, my injuries partially lay down, and due aſſiſtance and direction crave?

D. We did.

Cain. What ſpoke the oracle? he is God to me; what juſt mmand do ye bring? what is to be done? am I to bear the ulting junior's rage! and meekly ſuffer what unjuſtly he, ronting primogeniture, and laws of God and man, impoſed his pride unſufferable? Am I to be cruſhed, and be no re the firſt born ſon on earth, but bow and kneel to him?

D. Forbid it heaven! as Adam too forbids, who, with juſe God-like, and peculiar to injured parents, Abel's pride ents, and gives his high command to thee to puniſh.

Cain. To puniſh, ſay you? Did he uſe the word, the very rd? Am I commiſſioned then to puniſh Abel?

D. Not Abel only, but his rebel race, as they, alike in me, alike are joined in puniſhment.

Cain. The race indeed have ſhared the merit with him. w did they all inſult, and, with a ſhout of triumph, mock ſorrow, when they ſaw me from my ſacrifice dejected come, if my diſappointment was their joy!

D. This too the venerable prince repreſents; and to preve the race in bounds of law ſubordinate and limited to du- commands that this firſt breach be not paſſed by, leſt the cedent upon record ſtand to future times to encourage like ellion.

Cain. And is it then my ſovereign parent's will?

D. It is his will, that thou, his eldeſt ſon, his image, his beloved

beloved, ſhould be maintained in all the rights of ſovereignty derived to thee from him; and not be left expoſed to injury, and power uſurped, but ſhould do thyſelf juſtice on the rebel race.

Cain. And ſo I will. Abel ſhall quickly know what it is to trample on his elder brother——ſhall know that he is thus ſentenced by his father; and I am commiſſioned but to execute his high command, his ſentence, which is God's; and that he falls by the hand of heavenly juſtice.

So now Satan had done his work, he had deluded the mother to a breach againſt the firſt and only command: he had drawn Adam into the ſame ſnare; and now he brings in Cain, prompted by his own rage, and deluded by his (Satan's) craft, to commit murder, nay, a fratricide, an aggravated murder.

Upon this he ſends out Cain while the bloody rage was in its ferment, and wickedly, at the ſame time, bringing Abel, innocent, and fearing no ill, juſt in his way, he ſuggeſts to his thoughts ſuch words as theſe:

Look you Cain: ſee how divine juſtice concurs with your father's righteous ſentence: See, there is thy brother Abel directed by heaven to fall into thy hands unarmed, unguarded, that thou mayeſt do thyſelf juſtice upon him without fear: See, thou mayeſt kill him; and if thou haſt a mind to conceal it, no eyes can ſee, or will the world ever know it; ſo that no reſentment or revenge upon thee or thy poſterity can be apprehended, but it may be ſaid ſome wild beaſt had rent him; nor will any one ſuggeſt that thou, his brother and ſuperior, could poſſibly be the perſon.

Cain, prepared for the fact by his former avowed rage and reſolution of revenge, was ſo much the leſs prepared to avoid the ſnare thus artfully contrived by the maſter of all ſubtlety, the Devil; ſo he immediately runs upon his brother Abel, and, after a little unarmed reſiſtance, the innocent poor man, expecting no ſuch miſchief, was conquered and murdered, after which, as is to be ſuppoſed, the exaſperated crew of Cain's outrageous race over run all his family and houſehold, killing man, woman, and child.

It is objected here, that we have no authority in Scripture to prove this part of the ſtory: But I anſwer, it is not likely but that Abel, as well as Cain, being at man's eſtate long before this, had ſeveral children by their own ſiſters: for they were the only men in the world who were allowed the marry-

ing their own ſiſters, there being no other women then in the world: and as we never read of any of Abel's poſterity, it is likewiſe as probable they were all murdered, as that they ſhould kill Abel only, whoſe ſons might immediately fall upon Cain for the blood of their father, and ſo the world have been involved in a civil war, as ſoon as there were two families in it.

But be it ſo or not, it is not doubted the Devil wrought with Cain in the horrid murder, or he had never done it. Whether it was directly, or by agents, is not material, nor is the latter unlikely; and if the latter, then there is no probability in the ſtory: for why might not he that made uſe of the ſerpent to tempt Eve, be as well ſuppoſed to make a tool of ſome of Cain's ſons or grandſon's to prompt him in the wicked attempt of murdering his brother? and why muſt we be obliged to bring in a miracle, or an apparition, into the ſtory, to make it probable that the Devil had any hand in it, when it was ſo natural to a degenerate race to act in ſuch a manner?

However it was, and by whatever tool the Devil wrought, it is certain that this was the conſequence, poor Abel was butchered: And thus the Devil made a ſecond conqueſt on God's creation; for Adam was now, as may be ſaid really childleſs; for his two ſons were thus far loſt, Abel was killed, and Cain was curſed, and driven out from the preſence of the Lord, and his race blaſted with him.

It would be an uſeful inquiry here, and worthy our giving an account of, could we come to a certainty in it; namely, What was the mark that God ſet upon Cain, by which he was kept from being fallen upon by Abel's friends or relations? But as this does not belong to the Devil's hiſtory, and it was God's mark, not the Devil's I have nothing to do with it here.

The Devil had now gained his point: the kingdom of grace, ſo newly elected, had been as it were extinct without a new creation, had not Adam and Eve been alive, and had not Eve, though now 130 years of age been a breeding young lady; for we muſt ſuppoſe the women, in that ſtate of longevity, bare childeen till they were ſeven or eight hundred years old. This ſeeming of Eve peopled not the world ſo much, as it reſtored the bleſſed race; for though Abel was killed, Cain had a numerous offſpring preſently, which, had Seth (Adam's third ſon) never been born, would ſoon have repleniſhed the world with people, ſuch as they were; the ſeed of a murderer, curſed of God, branded with a mark of infamy, and who

afterwards fell all together in the univerſal ruin of the race by the deluge.

But, after the murder of Abel, Adam had another ſon born, namely, Seth, the father of Enos, and indeed the father of the holy race; for during his time, and his ſon Enos, the text ſays, "that men began to call on the name of the Lord;" that is to ſay, they began to look back upon Cain and his wicked race; and, being convinced of the wickedneſs they had committed, and led their whole poſterity into, they began to ſue to heaven for pardon of what was paſt, and to lead a new ſort of life.

But the Devil had met with too much ſucceſs in his firſt attempts, not to go on with his general reſolution of debauching the minds of men, and bringing them off from God; and therefore, as he kept his hold upon Cain's curſed race, embroiled already in blood and murder, ſo he proceeded with his degenerate offspring, till, in a word, he brought both the holy ſeed, and the degenerate race, to join in one univerſal conſent of crime, and to go on in it, with ſuch aggravating circumſtances, as that it repented the Lord that he had made men; and he reſolved to overwhelm them again with a general deſtruction, and clear the world of them.

The ſucceſſion of blood in the royal original line of Adam, is preſerved in the ſacred hiſtories, and and brought down as low as Noah and his three ſons, for a continued ſeries of 1450 years, ſay ſome, 1640, ſay others; in which time, ſin ſpread itſelf ſo generally through the whole race, and the ſons of God, ſo the ſcripture calls the men of the righteous ſeed, the progeny of Seth, came in unto the daughters of men, that is, joined themſelves to the curſed race of Cain, and married promiſcuouſly with them, according to their fancies, the women, it ſeems, being beautiful and tempting; and though the Devil could not make the women handſome or ugly in one or other families, yet he might work up the guſt of wicked inclination on either ſide, ſo as to make both the men and women tempting and agreeable to one another, where they ought not to have been ſo; and perhaps, as it is often ſeen to this day, the more tempting for being under a legal reſtraint.

It is objected here, that we do not find in the Scripture, that the men and woman of either race were at that time forbidden intermarrying with one another; and it is true, litterally they were not forbid: but if we did not ſearch rather to make doubts, than to explain them, we might ſuppoſe it was forbid-

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len by ſome particular command at that time, ſeeing we may reaſonably allow every thing to be forbidden, which they are axed with, as a crime in comitting; and as the Sons of God aking them wives, as they thought fit to chuſe, though from mong the daughters of the curſed race, is there charged upon hem as a general depravation, and a great crime, and for vhich, it is ſaid, God even repented that he had made them, re need go no farther to ſatisfy ourſelves that it was certain- y forbidden.

Satan, no doubt too, had a hand in this wickedneſs; for s it was his buſineſs to prompt men to do every thing which God had prohibited, ſo the reaſon given why the men of thoſe ays did this thing, was, they ſaw the daughters of men, that , of the wicked race, or forbidden ſort, were fair. He empted them by the luſt of the eye; and, in a word the dies were beautiful and agreeable, and the Devil knew how o make uſe of the allurement; the men liked and took them y the mere direction of their fancy and appetite, without re- arding the ſupreme prohibition. They took them wives of all hich they choſe, or ſuch as they like to chuſe.

But the text adds, that this promiſcuous generation went rther than the mere outward crime of it; for it ſhewed that e wickedneſs of the heart of man was great before God, and at he reſented it. In ſhort God percieved that a degeneracy defect of virtue had ſeized upon the whole race: that eir was a general corruption of manners, a depravity of na- re upon them; that even the holy ſeed was tainted with it; at the Devil had broken in upon them, and prevailed to a eat degree: that not only the practice of the age was cor- pt, for that God could eaſily have reſtraind, but that, the y heart of man was debauched, his deſires wholly vitiated, d his ſenſes engaged in it: ſo that, in a word it became ne- ſſary to ſhew the divine diſpleaſure, not in the ordinary nner, by judgment and reproofs of ſuch kinds as uſually laim men, but by a general deſtruction to sweep them away, ar the earth of them, and put an end to their wickedneſs at ce, removing the offence and the offenders all together. This ſignified at large, Gen. vi 5. "God ſaw that the wicked- neſs of man was great in the earth, and that every imagina- ion of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." nd again, ver. 11, 12 "The earth was also corrupt before God; and the earth was filled with violence. And God ooked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all leſh had corrupted his way upon the earth."

It muſt be confeſſed, it was a ſtrange conqueſt the Devil had made in the antediluvian world; that he had, as I may ſay, brought the whole race of mankind into a general revolt from God, Noah was indeed a preacher of righteouſneſs; and he had preached about five hundred years to as little purpoſe as moſt of the good miniſters ever did; for we do not read there was one man converted by him, or at leaſt not one of them left; for that, at the deluge, their was either none of them alive, or none ſpared but Noah, and his three ſons, and their wives; and even they are (it is evident) recorded, not ſo much to be ſaved for their own goodneſs, but becauſe they were his ſons; Nay, without breach of charity, we may conclude, that at leaſt one went to the Devil even of thoſe three; namly, Ham or Cham, for triumphing in a brutal manner over his father's drunkenneſs; for we find the ſpecial curſe reached to him and his poſterity for many ages; and whether it went no farther then the preſent ſtate of life with them, ye cannot tell.

We will ſuppoſe now, through this whole 1500 years the Devil, having ſo effectualy debauched mankind, had advanced his infernal kingdom to a prodigious height: for the text ſays, "The whole earth was filled with violence." In a word, blood, murder, rape, robbery, oppreſſion, and injuſtice prevailed every where; and men like the wild bears in the foreſt, lived by prey, biting and devouring one another,

At this time, Noah begins to preach a new doctrine to them; for as he had before been a preacher of righteouſneſs, he next becomes a preacher of vengeance. Firſt, he tells them they ſhall be all overwhelmed with a deluge; that, for their ſins, God repented they were made; and that he would deſtroy them all; adding, that, to prevent the ruin of himſelf and family, he reſolved to build him a ſhip, to have recourſe to when the water ſhould come over the reſt of the world.

What jeſting, what ſcorn, what contempt did this work expoſe the good old man to for above a hundred years? for ſo long the work was building, as ancient authors ſay. Let us repreſent to ourſelves in the moſt lively manner, how the witty world at that time behaved to poor old Noah; how they took their evening walks to ſee what he was doing, and paſt their judgment upon it, and upon the progreſs of it. I ſay, to repreſent this to ourſelves, we need go no farther then to our own witticiſms upon religion, and upon the moſt ſolemn

ſolemn myſteries of divine worſhip: how we damn the ſerious for enthuſiaſts, think the grave mad, and the ſober melancholy; call religion, itſelf *Flatus* and *Hypo;* make the devout ignorant, the divine mercenary, and the whole ſcheme of divinity a frame of prieſtcraft: And thus, no doubt, the building an ark or boat, or whatever they called it, to float over the mountains, and dance over the plains, what could it be but a religious frenzy, and the man that ſo buſied himſelf, a lunatic? and all this in an age when divine things came by immediate revelation into the minds of men! The Devil muſt therefore have made a ſtrange conqueſt upon mankind, to obliterate all the reverence which but a little before was ſo ſtrangely impreſt upon them concerning their Maker.

This was certainly the height of the Devil's kingdom and we ſhall never find him arrive at such a pitch again. He was then truly and litterally the universal monarch, nay, the God of this world, and, as all tyrants do, he governs them with an arbitary abſolute ſway; and had not God thought fit to give him a writ of ejectment, and afterwards drawn him out of poſſeſſion, I know not what would have been the caſe. He might have kept his hold, for aught I know, till the ſeed of the woman came to bruſe his head, that is to say, cripple his government, dethrone him, and depoſe his power, as has been fulfilled in the Meſſiah.

But as he was I ſay, drownd out of the world, his kingdom for the preſent was at an end: at leaſt, if he had a dominion, he had no ſubjects; and as the creation was in a manner renewed, ſo the Devil had all his work to do over again. Unhappy man? how has he, by his weak reſiſtance, made the Devil's recovering his hold too eaſy to him, and give him all the advantages except as before excepted, which he had before? Now, whether he retired in the mean time, and how he got footing again after Noah and his family were landed upon the new ſurface, that we come next to enquire.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Devil's ſecond kingdom, and how he got footing in the renewed World, by his victory over Noah and his Race.

THE ſtory of Noah, his building the ark, his embarking himſelf and all nature's ſtock for a new world on board it,

the long voyage they took and the bad weather they met with, though it would embelliſh this work very well, and come in very much to the purpose in this place, yet as it does not belong to the Devil's ſtory, for I cannot prove what some ſuggeſt, viz. That he was in the ark among the reſt; I ſay, for that reaſon, I muſt omit it.

And now, having mentioned Satan's being in the ark, as I ſay, I cannot prove it, ſo there are, I think ſome good reaſons to believe he was not there, 1ſt, I know no buſineſs he had there. 2dly, We read of no miſchief done there. And theſe joined together, make me conclude he was abſent. The laſt I chiefly inſiſt upon, That we read of no miſchief done there; which, if he had been in the ark, would certainly have happened. And therefore I ſuppoſe rather, that when he ſaw his kingdom diſſolved, his ſubjects all ingulphed in an inevitable ruin and deſolation, a ſight ſuitable enough to him, except as it might unking him for a time; I ſay, when he ſaw this, he took care to ſpeed himſelf away as well as he could, and make his retreat to a place of ſafety. Where that was, is no more difficult to us then it was to him.

It is ſuggeſted, that as he is prince of the power of the air, he retired only into that region. It is moſt rational to ſuppoſe he went no farther on many accounts, of which I ſhall ſpeak by and by. Here he ſtaid hovering in the earth's atmoſphere, as he has often done ſince, and perhaps now does: or, if the atmoſphere of this globe was affected by the in-draught of the abſorption, as ſome think, then he kept himſelf upon the watch, to ſee what the event of the new phænomenon would be; and this watch, whatever it was I doubt not, was as near the earth as he could place himself, perhaps in the atmoſtphere of the moon, or, in a word, the next place of retreat he could find.

From hence I took upon me to inſiſt, that Satan has not a more certain knowledge of events than we; I ſay, he has not a more certain knowledge; that he may be, able to make ſtronger conjectures, and more rational concluſion from what he ſees, I will not deny; and that which he moſt undoes us in is, that he ſees more to conclude from, than we can; but I am ſatisfied he knows nothing of futurity more than we can ſee by obſervation and inference; nor, for example, did he know whether God would re-people the world any more or not.

I muſt therefore allow, that he only waited to ſee what would be the event of this ſtrange eruption of water and what God propoſed to do with the ark, and all that was in it.

Some

Some philoſophers tell us, beſides what I hinted above, that the Devil could have no retreat in the earth's atmoſphere; for that the earth being wholly condenſed into water, and have continually poured down its ſtreams to deluge the earth that body was become ſo ſmall, and had ſuffered ſuch convulſion, that there was but juſt enough of air left to ſurround the water, or as might ſerve by its preſſure to preſerve the natural poſition of things, and ſupply the creatures in the ark with a part to breathe in.

The atmoſphere indeed might ſuffer ſome ſtrange and unnatural motions at that time, but not (I believe) to that degree; however, I will not affirm that there could be room in it, or is now, for the Devil, much leſs for all the numberleſs legions of Satan's hoſt; but there was and now certainly is, ſufficient ſpace to receive him and a ſufficient body of his troops for the buſineſs he had for them at that time, and that is enough to the purpoſe; or if the earth's atmoſphere did ſuffer any particular convulſion on that occaſion, he might make his retreat to the atmoſphere of the moon, or of Mars, or of Venus, or any of the other planets, for he that is prince of the air could not want retreats in such a caſe, from whence he might watch for the iſſue of things; certainly he did not go far, becauſe his buſineſs lay here, and he never goes out of his way of doing miſchief.

In particular, his more than ordinary concern was to ſee what would become of the ark: He was wiſe enough, doubtleſs to ſee that God, who had directed its making, nay even the very ſtructure of it, would certainly take care of it, preſerve it upon the water, and bring it to ſome place of ſafety or other; though where it ſhould be, the Devil with all his cunning, could not reſolve, whether on the ſame ſurface, the waters drawn off or in any other created, or to be created place; and this ſtate of uncertainty being evidently his caſe, and which proves his ignorance of futurity, it was his buſineſs, I ſay, to watch with the utmoſt vigilance for the event.

If the ark was (as Mr Burnet thinks) guided by two angels, they not only held it from foundering, or being ſwallowed up in the water, but certainly kept the waters calm about it, eſpecially when the Lord brought a ſtrong wind to blow over the whole globe, which by the way was the firſt, and, I ſuppoſe, the only univerſel ſtorm that ever blew; for to be ſure it blew over the whoſe ſurface at once; I ſay; if it was thus guided, to be ſure the Devil ſaw it, and that with envy and regret that he could do it no injury; for doubtleſs

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had it been in the Devil's power, as God had drownd the whole race of man, except what was in the ark, he would have taken care to have dispatched them too, and ſo made an end of the creation at once; but either he was not impowered to go to the ark, or it was ſo well guarded by angels, that, when he came near it, he could do it no harm. So it reſted at length, the waters abating on the mountains of Ararat, in Armenia or ſome where elſe that way, and where they ſay a piece of the keel is remaining to this day; of which however, with Dr ——, I ſay, I believe not one word.

The ark being ſafely landed, 'tis reasonable to believe Noah prepared to go on ſhore, as the ſeamen call it, as ſoon as the dry land began to appear; and here you muſt allow me to ſuppose Satan, though himſelf cloathed with a cloud, ſo as not to be ſeen, came immediately, and perched on the roof, ſaw all the heaven-kept house-hold ſafe landed, and all the hoſt of living creatures, diſperſing themſelves down the ſides of the mountains, as the ſearch of their food, or other proper occaſions directed them.

This ſight was enough; Satan was at no loſs to conclude from hence, that the deſign of God was to repeople the world by the way of ordinary generation, from the poſterity of these eight perſons, without creating any new ſpecies.

Very well, ſays the Devil; then my advantage over them, by the ſnare I laid for poor Eve, is good ſtill; and I am now juſt where I was after Adam's expulſion from the garden, and when I had Cain and his race, to go to work with; for here is the old expunged corrupted race ſtill: as Cain was the object then, ſo Noah is my man now; and if I do not maſter him one way or another, I am miſtaken in my mark. Pardon me for making a ſpeech for the Devil.

Noah, big with a ſenſe of his late condition, and while the wonders of the deluge were freſh in his mind, ſpent his firſt days in the exſtacies of his ſoul, giving thanks, and praiſing the power that had been his protection in and through the flood of waters, and which had in ſo miraculous a manner ſafely landed him on the ſurface of the newly diſcovered land; and the text tells us as one of the firſt things he was employed in, "He built an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt-of-"ferings upon the altar." Gen. viii. 20.

While Noah was thus employed he was ſafe, the Devil himſelf could no where break in upon him; and we may ſuppoſe very reaſonably, as he found the old father invulnerable, he left

eft him for ſome years, watching notwithſtanding all poſſible dvantages againſt his ſons, and their children; for now the family began to increaſe, and Noah's ſons had ſeveral children; whether himſelf had any more children after the flood or not, hat we are not arrived to any certainty about.

Among his ſons the Devil found Japhat, and Shem, good, ious, religious and very devout perſons; ſerving God daily, fter the example of their good old father Noah; and he could make nothing of them, or of any of their poſterity; But Ham, he ſecond, or, according to ſome, the younger ſon of Noah, had a ſon, who was named Canaan, a looſe young profligate ellow; his education was probably but curſory and ſuperficial, his father Ham not being nearly ſo religious and ſerious man s his brothers Shem and Japhet were; and, as Canaan's education were defective, ſo he proved, as untaught youth generally do, a wild, and, in ſhort, a very wicked fellow; and conſequently a fit tool for the Devil to go to work with.

Noah, a diligent induſtrious man, being with all his family, hus planted in the rich fruitful plains of Armenia, or wherever ou pleaſe, let it be near the mountains of Caucaſus or Ararat, went immediately to work, cultivating and improving the ſoil, increaſing his cattle and paſtures, ſowing corn, and among other things, planted trees for food; and amor.g the fruit trees he planted vines, of the grapes whereof he made, no doubt, as they ſtill in the ſame country do make, moſt excellent wine, rich, luſcious, ſtrong, and pleaſant.

I cannot come into the notion of our critics, who to excuſe Noah from the guilt of what followed, or at leaſt from the cenſure, tell us, he knew not the ſtrength or the nature of wine; but that gathering the heavy cluſters of the grapes, and their own weight cruſhing out their balmy juices into his hand, he taſted the tempting liquor; and that, the Devil aſſiſting, he was charmed with the delicious fragrance, and taſted again and again, preſſing it out into a bowl or diſh, that he might take a large quantity; till at length, the heady froth aſcended and ſeized his hrain: he became intoxicated and drunk, not in the leaſt imagining there was any ſuch ſtrength in the juice of that excellent fruit.

But to make out this ſtory, which is indeed very favourable for Noah, but in itſelf extremely ridiculous, you muſt neceſſarily fall into ſome abſurdities, and beg the queſtion moſt egregiouſly in ſome particular caſes; which way of arguing will by no means ſupport what is ſuggeſted; at firſt you muſt ſuppoſe there

was

was no ſuch thing as wine made before the deluge, and that nobody had ever been made drunk with the juice of the grape before Noah; which, I ſay, is begging the queſtion in the groſſeſt manner.

If the contrary is true, as I ſee no reaſon to queſtion; if, I ſay, it was true, that there was wine drank, and that men were or had been drunk with it, before, they cannot then but ſuppoſe, that Noah, who was a wiſe, a great, and a good man, and a preacher of righteouſneſs both knew of it, and without doubt had, in his preaching againſt their crimes, preached againſt this amongſt the reſt, upbraiding them with it, reproved them for it, and exhorting them againſt it.

Again 'tis highly probable they had grapes growing and conſequently wines made from them, in the antediluvian world how elſe did Noah come by the vines which he planted? For we are to ſuppoſe, he could plant no trees or ſhrubs, but ſuch as he found the roots of in the earth, and which no doubt had been there before in their higheſt perfection, and conſequently grown up, and brought forth the ſame luſcious fruit as before.

Beſides, as he found roots of the vines, ſo he underſtood what they were, and what fruit they bore, or elſe it may be ſuppoſed alſo he would not have planted them; for he planted them for their fruit, as he did it in the proviſion he was making for his ſubſiſtance, and the ſubſiſtance of his family; and if he did not know what they were, he would not have ſet them for he was not planting for diverſion, but for profit.

Upon the whole, it ſeems plain to me, he knew what he did as well when he planted the vines, as when he preſſed out the grapes; and alſo, when he drank the juice, that he knew it was wine, was ſtrong, and would make him drunk, if he took enough of it; He knew that other men had been drunk with ſuch liquor before the flood; and that he had reprehended them for it; and therefore it was not his ignorance, but the Devil took him at ſome advantage, when his appetite was eager or he thirſty, and the liquor cooling and pleaſant; and, in ſhort, as Eve ſaid, the ſerpent beguiled her, and ſhe did eat; ſo the Devil beguiled Noah, and he did drink; the temptation was too ſtrong for Noah, not the wine; he knew well enough what he did, but, as the drunkards ſay to this day, it was ſo good he could not forbear it, and ſo he got drunk before he was aware; or, as our ordinary ſpeech expreſſes it, he was overtaken with drink: and Mr Pool, and other expoſitors are partly of the ſame mind.

No

No ſooner was the poor old man conquered, and the wine
d lightened his, head, but it may be ſuppoſed he falls off
om the chair or bench where he ſat, and, tumbling backward
s cloaths, which in thoſe hot countries were only looſe open
bes, like the veſts which the Armenians wear to this day,
ing abroad, or the Devil ſo aſſiſting on purpoſe to expoſe
m, he lay there in a naked undecent poſture not fit to be
en.

In this juncture who ſhould come by but young Canaan!
ſome; or, as others think, this young fellow firſt attacked
n by way of kindneſs, and pretended affection: prompted
grandfather to drink, on pretence of the wine being good
him, and proper for the ſupport of his old age; and ſub-
ſet upon him, drinking alſo with him; and ſo (his head
ng too ſtrong for the old man's, drank him down, and then,
il-like, triumphed over him; boaſted of his conqueſt, inſult-
the body as it were dead, and uncovered him on purpoſe to
poſe him; and, leaving him in that indecent poſture, went
made ſport with it to his father Ham, who in that part,
ked like himſelf, did the ſame to his brethren Japheth and
em; but they, like modeſt and good men, far from carrying
the wicked inſult on their parent, went and covered him,
he Scripture expreſſes it, and, as may be ſuppoſed, inform-
him how he had been abuſed, and by whom.

Why elſe ſhould Noah, when he came to himſelf, ſhew his
ntment ſo much againſt Canaan his grandſon, rather than
inſt Ham his father; and whom, 'tis ſuppoſed in the ſtory,
guilt chiefly lay upon? We ſee the curſe is (as it were)
wholly upon Canaan the grandſon, and not a word of the
er is mentioned; Gen. ix. 25, 26, 27. "Curſed be Ca-
n; a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be," &c.

That Ham was guilty, that is certain from the hiſtory of
fact; but I cannot but ſuppoſe his grandſon was the oc-
on of it; and in this caſe the Devil ſeems to have made
aan the inſtrument or tool to delude Noah, and draw him
o drunkenneſs, as he made the ſerpent the tool to beguile
, and draw her into diſobedience.

Poſſibly Canaan might do it without deſign at firſt, but
ht be brought in to ridicule and make a jeſt of the old pa-
ch afterwards, as is too frequent ſince in the practice of
days; but I rather believe he did it really with a wicked
gn, and on purpoſe to inſult and expoſe his reverend old
nt; and this ſeems more like too, becauſe of the great

bitterneſs

bitterneſs with which Noah reſented it; after he came to be informed of it.

But be that as it will, the Devil certainly made a great conqueſt here, and, as to outward appearance no leſs than that which he gained before over Adam; nor did the Devil's victory conſiſt barely in his having drawn in the only righteous man of the whole antideluvian world, and ſo beginning or initiating the new young progeny with a crime; but here was the great oracle ſilenced at once; the preacher of righteouſneſs, for ſuch, no doubt, he would have been to the new world, as he was to the old, I ſay, the preacher was turned out of office, or his mouth ſtopt, which was worſe; nay, it was a ſtopping of his mouth in the worſt kind, far worſe than ſtopping his breath; for had he died, the office had deſcended to his ſon's Shem and Japheth; but he was dead to the office of an inſtructor, though alive as to his being; for what force could his preaching be, who had thus fallen himſelf into the moſt ſhameful and beaſtly exceſs?

Beſides, ſome are of the opinion, though I hope without ground, that Noah was not only overtaken once in his drink, but that, being fallen into that ſin, it became habitual, and he continued in it a great while; and that it was this which is the meaning of his being uncovered in his tent, and that his ſon ſaw his nakedneſs; that is, he continually expoſed himſelf for a long time, an hundred years, ſay they; and that his ſon Ham, and his grandſon Canaan, having drawn him into it, kept him in it, encouraged and prompted it; and all the while Satan ſtill prompting them, joined their ſcoffs and contempt of him, with their wicked endeavours to promote the wickedneſs; and both with as much ſucceſs as the Devil himſelf could wiſh for.

Then, as for his two ſons modeſtly and decently covering their father, they tell us, that repreſents Shem and Japheth applying themſelves in an humble and dutiful manner to their father, to intreat and beſeech him to conſider his ancient glory, his own pious exhortations to the late drowned world, and to conſider the offence which he gave by his evil courſes to God, and the ſcandal to his whole family; and alſo that they are brought ineffectually prevailing upon him; and that then Noah curſed the wickedneſs of Ham's degenerate race, in testimony of his ſincere repentance after the fact.

The ſtory is not ſo very unlikely, as it is certain that it is not to be proved, and therefore we had better take it as

had it, viz. for one ſingle act, But ſuppoſe it was ſo, 'tis ſtill certain that Noah's preaching was ſadly interrupted; the energy of his words flattened, and the force of his perſuaſions enervated and abated, by his ſhameful fall; that he was effectually ſilenced for an inſtructor ever after; and this was as much as the Devil had occaſion for; and therefore indeed we read little more of him, except that he lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood; nay, we do not ſo much as read, that he had any more children, but the contrary; nor indeed could Noah have any more children, except by his old and perhaps ſuperannuated wife, whom it was very likely he had four or five hundred years, unleſs you will ſuppoſe he was allowed to marry ſome of his own progeny, daughters or grand-daughters, which we do not ſuppoſe was allowed, no not to Adam himſelf.

This was certainly a maſter-piece of the Devil's policy, and a fatal inſtance of his unhappy diligence, viz. that the door of the ark was no ſooner open, and the face of the world hardly dry from the univerſal deſtruction of mankind, but he was at work among them; and that not only to form a general defection among the race, upon the foot of the original taint of nature, but like a bold Devil he ſtrikes at the very root, and ſes at the next general repreſentative of mankind, attacks the head of the family, that in his miſcarriage the riſe and proceſs of a reformation of the new world ſhould receive an early check, and ſhould be at once prevented; I ſay, like a bold devil, he ſtrikes at the root; and, alas! poor unhappy Noah; he proved too weak for him; Satan prevailed in his very firſt attempt, and got the victory over him at once.

Noah thus overcome, and Satan's conqueſt carried on to the moſt of his own wiſhes, the Devil had little more to do in the world for ſome ages, than to carry on an univerſal degeneracy among mankind, and to finiſh it by a like diligent application, in deluding the generality of the race, and them as they came on gradually into life; this he found the leſs difficult, becauſe of the firſt defection, which ſpread like a contagion upon the earth immediately after.

The firſt evidence we have of his ſucceſs in this miſchievous deſign was in building that great ſtupendous ſtaircaſe, for ſuch it ſeems it was intended, called Babel, which, if the whole world had not been drunk, or otherwiſe infatuated, they would never have undertaken; even Satan himſelf could never have prevailed with them to undertake ſuch a prepoſterous piece of

work, for it had neither end or means, poſſibility or probability in it.

I muſt confeſs I am ſometimes apt to vindicate our old anceſtors, in my thoughts, from the charge itſelf, as we generally underſtand it; namely, that they really deſigned to build a tower which ſhould reach up to heaven, or that it ſhould ſecure them in caſe of another flood; and father Caſaubon is of my opinion; whether I am of his or not is a queſtion by itſelf: his opinion is, that the confuſion was nothing but a breach among the undertakers and directors of the work: and that the building was deſigned chiefly for a ſtorehouſe for proviſions, in caſe of a ſecond deluge: as to their notion of its reaching up to heaven, he takes the expreſſion to be allegorical rather than literal, and only to mean that it ſhould be exceeding high: perhaps they might not be aſtronomers enough to meaſure the diſtance of ſpace between the earth and heaven, as we pretend to do now; but as Noah was then alive, and as we believe all his three ſons were ſo too, they were able to have informed them how abſurd it was to ſuppoſe either the one or the other; viz. (1) that they could build up to heaven; or, (2) that they could build firm enough to reſiſt, or high enough to overtop the waters, ſuppoſing ſuch another flood ſhould happen; I would rather think it was only that they intended to build a moſt glorious and magnificent city, where they might all inhabit together; and that this tower was to be built for ornament, and alſo for ſtrength, or as above, for a ſtorehouſe to lay up vaſt magazines of proviſions, in caſe of extraordinary floods, or other events, the city being built in a great plain, namely, the plains of Shinar near the river Euphrates.

But the ſtory, as it is recorded, ſuits better with Satan's meaſures at that time; and as he was from the beginning prompting them to every thing that was contrary to the happineſs of man, ſo the more prepoſterous it was, and the more inconſiſtent with common ſenſe, the more to his purpoſe; and it ſhewed the more what a complete conqueſt he had gained over the reaſon as well as the religion of mankind at that time.

Again, it is evident in this caſe they were not only acting contrary to the nature of things, but contrary to the deſign and to the command of Heaven: for God's command was, that they ſhould repleniſh the earth, that is, that they ſhould ſpread their habitations over it, and people the whole globe; whereas they were pitching in one place, as if they were not to multiply ſufficient to take up any more.

B

But what cared the Devil for that? or, to put it a little handſomer, that was what Satan aimed at; for it was enough to him to bring mankind to act juſt contrary to what heaven had directed or commanded them in any thing, and, if poſſible, in every thing.

But God himſelf put a ſtop to this fooliſh piece of work; and it was time indeed to do ſo, for a madder thing the Devil himſelf never propoſed to them; I ſay, God himſelf put a ſtop to this new undertaking, and diſappointed the Devil; and how was it done? not in judgment and anger, as perhaps the Devil expected, and hoped for, but as pitying the ſimplicity of that dreaming creature man, he confuſed their ſpeech, or as ſome ſay, divided and confuſed their counſels, ſo that they could not agree with one another; which would be the ſame thing as not to underſtand one another; or he put a new ſhibboleth upon their tongues; thereby ſeparating them into tribes or families; for by this every family found themſelves under a neceſſity of keeping together; and this naturally increaſed that different jargon of language; for at firſt it might be no more.

What a confuſion this was to them we all know, by their being obliged to leave off their building, and immediately ſeparating one from another; but what a ſurprize it was to the old ſerpent, that remains to be conſidered of, for indeed it belongs to his hiſtory.

Satan had never met with any diſappointment in all his wicked attempts till now; for, firſt, he ſucceeded even to triumph upon Eve, he did the like upon Cain; and, in ſhort, upon the whole world, one man (Noah) excepted; when he blended the ſons of God, and the daughters of hell, for ſo the word is underſtood, together, in promiſcuous voluptuous living as generation.

As to the deluge, authors are not agreed whether it was a diſappointment to the Devil or not; it might be indeed a ſurpriſe to him; for though Noah had preached of it for a hundred years together, yet as he (Satan) daily prompted the people not to heed or believe what the old fellow Noah ſaid to them, and to ridicule his whimſical building a monſtrous tub to ſwim or float in, when the ſaid deluge ſhould come; ſo I am of the opinion he did not believe it himſelf, and am poſitive he could not forſee it, by any inſight into futurity that he was maſter of.

It is true, the aſtronomers tell us, there was a very terrible

comet ſeen in the air; that it appeared for 180 days before the flood continually; and that as it approached nearer and nearer every day all the while, ſo that at laſt it burſt and fell down in a continual ſpout or ſtream of water, being of watery ſubſtance, and the quantity ſo great, that it was forty days a falling; So that this comet, not only fortold the deluge or drowning of the earth, but actually performed it, and drowned it from itſelf.

But to leave this tale to them that told it, let us conſider the Devil ſurprized, and a little amazed, at the abſorption or inundation or whatever we are to call it, of the earth in the deluge; not, I ſay, that he was much concerned at it, perhaps juſt the contrary; and if God would drown it again, and as often as he thought fit, I do not ſee, by any thing I meet with in Satan's hiſtory, or in the nature of him, that he would be at all diſturbed at it; all that I can ſee in it, that could give Satan any concern, would be, that all his favourites were gone, and he had his work to do over again, to lay a foundation for a new conqueſt in the generation that was to come: but in this his proſpect was fair enough, for why ſhould he be diſcouraged, when he had now eight people to work upon, who met with ſuch ſucceſs when he had but two! And why ſhould he queſtion breaking in now, where nature was already vitiated and corrupted, when he had before conquered the ſame nature, when in its primitive rectitude and purity, juſt come out of the hands of its Maker, and fortified with the awe of his high and ſolemn command juſt given them, and the threatening of death alſo annexed to it, if broken?

But I go back to the affair of Babel: This confuſion of language, or of counſels, take it which way you will, is the firſt diſappointment that I find the Devil met with, in all his attempts and practices upon mankind, or upon the new creature, which I mentioned above; for now he forſaw what would follow; namely, that the people would ſeparate and ſpread themſelves over the whole ſurface of the earth, and a thouſand new ſcenes of action would appear, in which he therefore prepares himſelf to behave as he ſhould ſee occaſion.

How the Devil learned to ſpeak all the languages that were now to be uſed, and how many languages there were, the ſeveral ancient writers of the Devil's ſtory have not yet determined. Some tell us they were divided only into 15, ſome into 72, others into 180, and others again into ſeveral thouſands.

It alſo remains a doubt with me, and, I ſuppoſe, will be ſo

with others alſo, whether Satan had yet found out a method to converſe with mankind, without the help of language and words, or not; ſeeing man has no other method of converſing, no not with himſelf. This I have not time to enter upon here; however, this ſeems plain to me, viz. That the Devil ſoon learned to make mankind underſtand him, whatever language he ſpoke; and no doubt but he found ways and means to underſtand them, whatever language they ſpoke.

After the confuſion of languages, the people neceſſarily ſorted themſelves into families and tribes, every family underſtanding their own peculiar ſpeech, and that only; and theſe families multiplying, grew into nations; and thoſe nations, wanting room, and ſeeking out habitations, wandering ſome this way, ſome that, till they found out countries reſpectively proper for their ſettling; and there they became kingdoms, ſpreading and poſſeſſing ſtill more and more land as their people increaſed, till at laſt the whole earth was ſcarce big enough for them. This preſented Satan with an opportunity to break in upon their morals at another door, viz. their pride; for men being naturally proud and envious, nations and tribes began to joſtle with one another for room. Either one nation enjoyed better accommodation, or had a better ſoil, or a more favourable climate than another; and theſe, being numerous and ſtrong, thruſt the other out, and encroached upon their land: the other liking their ſituation, prepared for their defence: and ſo began oppreſſion, invaſion, war, battle, and blood; Satan all the while beating the drums, and his attendants clapping their hands as men do when they ſet dogs upon one another.

The bringing mankind thus to war and confuſion, as it was the firſt game the Devil played after the confounding the languages and diviſions at Babel, ſo it was a conqueſt upon mankind purely deviliſh, born from hell, and ſo exactly tinctured with Satan's original ſin ambition, that it really transformed men into mere devils: for when is man transformed into the very image of Satan himſelf, when he is turned into a mere Devil, if it is not when he is fighting with his fellow-creatures and dipping his hands in the blood of his own kind? Let his picture be conſidered: The fire of hell flames or ſparkles in his eyes; a voracious grin ſits upon his countenance; rage and fury diſtort the muſcles of his face, his paſſions agitate his whole body; and he is metamorphoſed from a comely beautious angelic creature, into a fury, a ſatyre, a terrible and frightful monſter, nay, into a Devil; for Satan himſelf is deſcribed by

the ſame word, which on his very account is changed into a ſubſtantive, and the Devils are called furies.

The ſowing the ſeeds of ſtrife in the world, and bringing nations to fight and make war upon one another, would take up a great part of the Devil's hiſtory, and abundance of extraordinary things would occur in relating the particulars: for there have been very great conflagrations kindled in the world by the artifice of hell under this head, viz. of making war; in which it has been the Devil's maſter-piece, and he has indeed ſhewn himſelf a workman in it, that he has wheedled mankind into ſtrange unnatural notions of things, in order to propagate and ſupport the fighting principle in the world; ſuch as laws of war, fair fighting, behaving like men of honour, fighting to the laſt drop, and the like; by which killing and murdering is underſtood to be juſtifiable. Virtue, and a true greatneſs in ſpirit, is rated now by rules which God never appointed; and the ſtandard of honour is quite different from that of reaſon, and of nature. Bravery is denominated not from a fearleſs undaunted ſpirit in the juſt defiance of life and liberty, but from a daring defiance of God and man, fighting, killing, and treading under foot his fellow creatures, at the ordinary command of the officer, whether it be right or wrong, and whether it be in a juſt defence of life, and our country's life, that is liberty: or whether it be for the ſupport of injury and oppreſſion.

A prudent avoiding cauſeleſs quarrel, is called cowardice, and to take an affront, baſeneſs and meanneſs of ſpirit: to refuſe fighting, and putting life at a caſt on the point of a ſword, a practice forbid by the law of God, and of all good government, is yet called cowardice; and a man is bound to die duelling, or live and be laughed at.

This trumping up theſe imaginary things called bravery and gallantry, naming them virtue and honour, is all from the Devil's new management, and his ſubtile influencing the minds of men to fly in the face of God and nature, and to act againſt their ſenſes; nor, but for his artifice in the management, could it be poſſible that ſuch inconſiſtencies could go down with mankind, or they could paſs ſuch abſurd things among them for reaſoning, for example, A is found in bed with B's wife; B is the perſon injured, and therefore offended; and coming into the chamber, with his ſword in his hand, A exclaims loudly, "Why, ſir you won't murder me, will you? As you "are a man of honour, let me riſe and take my ſword."

A

A very good ſtory indeed! fit for nobody but the Devil to put into any man's head: but ſo it is, B being put in mind, forſooth, that he is a man of honour, ſtarts back, and muſt act the honourable part; ſo he lets A get up, put on his cloaths, and take his ſword: then they fight, and B is killed for his honour; whereas, had the laws of God, of nature, and of reaſon, taken place, the adulterer and adultereſs ſhould have been taken priſoners, and carried before the judge; and being taken in the fact, ſhould have been immediately ſentenced, he to the block and ſhe to the ſtake; and the innocent abuſed huſband had no reaſon to have run any riſk of his life for being made cuckold.

But thus has Satan abuſed the reaſon of man; and if a man does me the greateſt injury in the world, I muſt do myſelf juſtice upon him by venturing my life upon an even lay with him, and muſt fight him upon an equal hazard, in which the injured perſon is as often killed as the perſon offering the injury. Suppoſe now it be in the ſame caſe as above, a man abuſes my wife, and then to give me ſatisfaction, tells me he will fight me, which the French call *doing me reaſon*: "No ſir, (ſays I) let me lie with your wife too; and then, if you deſire it, I may fight you; then I am upon even terms with you." But this indeed is the reaſoning which the Devil has brought mankind to at this day. But to go back to the ſubject, viz. the Devil bringing the nations to fall out, and to quarrel for room in the world, and ſo to fight, in order to diſpoſſeſs one another of their ſettlements; This began at a time when certainly there were places enough in the world for every one to live in; and therefore the Devil, not the want of elbowroom, muſt be the occaſion of it: and it is carried on ever ſince apparently from the ſame intereſt, and by the ſame original.

But we ſhall meet with this part again very often in the Devil's ſtory, and as we bring him farther on in the management of mankind. I therefore lay it by for the preſent, and come to the next ſteps the Devil took with mankind after the confuſion of languages; and this was in the affair of worſhip. It does not appear yet that even the Devil was ſo bold, as either,

1. To ſet himſelf up to be worſhipped as a God; or which is ſtill worſe,

2. To perſuade man to believe there was no God at all to worſhip.

Both theſe are introduced ſince the deluge; one indeed by the Devil, who ſoon found means to ſet himſelf up for a God in

in many parts of the world, and holds it to this day; but the laſt is brought in by the invention of men, in which it muſt be confeſſed man has outſinned the Devil; for to do Satan juſtice he never thought it could ever paſs upon mankind, or that any thing ſo groſs would go down with them; ſo that, in ſhort, theſe modern caſuiſts, in the reach of our days, have, I ſay, outſinned the Devil.

As then both theſe are modern inventions, Satan went on gradually; and, being to work upon human nature by ſtratagem, not by force, it would have been too groſs to have ſet himſelf up as an object of worſhip at firſt: it was to be done ſtep by ſtep. For example.

1. It was ſufficient to bring mankind to a neglect of God to worſhip him by halves, and give little or no regard to his laws, and ſo grow looſe and immoral, in direct contradiction to his commands. This would not go down with them at firſt: ſo the Devil went on gradually.

2. From a negligence in worſhipping the true God he by degrees introduced the worſhip of falſe gods; and to introduce this he began with the ſun, moon, and ſtars, called in the holy text the hoſt of heaven. Theſe had greater majeſty upon them, and ſeemed fitter to command the homage of mankind: ſo it was not the hardeſt thing in the world to bring men, when they had once forgotten the true God, to embrace the worſhip of ſuch gods as thoſe.

3. Having thus debauched their principles in worſhip, and led them from the true and only object of worſhip to a falſe, it was the eaſier to carry them on; ſo in a few gradations more he brought them to downright idolatry: and even in that idolatry he proceeded gradually too; for he began with auful names, ſuch as were venerable in the thoughts of men, as Baal, or Bel, which, in Chaldaic and Hebrew, ſignifies Lord or Sovereign, or mighty and magnificent; and this was therefore a name aſcribed at firſt to the true God; but afterwards they deſcended to make images and figures to repreſent him, and then they were called by the ſame name, as Baal, Baalim, and afterwards Bel; from which by a hellish degeneracy, Satan brought mankind to adore every block of their own hewing, and to worſhip ſtocks, ſtones, monſters, hobgoblings, and every ſordid frightful thing, and at laſt the Devil himſelf.

What notions ſome people may entertain of the forwardneſs

of the firſt ages of the world to run into idolatry, I do not enquire here. I known they tell us ſtrange things, of its being the product of mere nature, one remove from its primitive ſtate: but I, who pretend to have ſo critically enquired into Satan's hiſtory, can aſſure you, and that from very good authority, that the Devil did not find it ſo eaſy a taſk to obliterate the knowledge of the true God in the minds and conſciences of men, as thoſe people ſuggeſt.

It is true, he carried things a great length under the patriarchal government of the firſt ages, but ſtill he was 1600 years bringing it to paſs; and though we have reaſon to believe the old world, before the flood, was arrived at a very great height of wickedneſs, and Ovid very nobly deſcribes it by the war of the Titans againſt Jupiter, yet we do not read that ever Satan was come to ſuch a length as to bring them to idolatry. Indeed we do read of wars carried on againſt them; whether it was one nation againſt another, or only perſonal, we cannot tell! but the world ſeemed to be ſwallowed up in a life of wickedneſs, that is to ſay, of luxury and lewdneſs, rapine and violence; and there were giants among them, and men of renown, that is to ſay, men famed for their mighty valour, great actions of war, we may ſuppoſe, and their ſtrength, who perſonally oppoſed others. We read of no conſiderable wars indeed; but it is not to be doubted but there were ſuch wars, or elſe it is to be underſtood that they lived (in common) a life ſomewhat like the brutes, the ſtrong devouring the weak; for the text ſays, "the whole earth was filled with violence;" hunting and tearing one another in pieces, either for dominion or for wealth, either for ambition or for avarice, we know not well which.

Thus far the old antediluvian world went; and very wicked they were, there is no doubt of that: But we have reaſon to believe they were no idolaters. The Devil had not brought them that length yet; perhaps it would ſoon have followed, but the deluge intervened.

After the deluge, as I have ſaid, he had all his work to do over again, and he went on by the ſame ſteps. Firſt he brought them to violence and war; then to oppreſſion and tyranny; then to neglect of true worſhip; then to falſe worſhip; and then idolatry, by the mere natural conſequence of the things. Who were the firſt nation or people that fell from the worſhip of the true God, is ſomewhat hard to determine; the Devil, who certainly of all God's creatures is beſt able to in-

from

form us, having left us nothing upon record on that ſubject. But we have reaſon to believe it was thus introduced;

Nimrod was the grandſon of Ham, Noah's ſecond ſon, the ſame who was curſed by his father for expoſing him in his drunkenneſs. This Nimrod was the firſt whom, it ſeems, Satan picked out for an hero. Here he inſpired him with ambitious thoughts, dream, of empire, and having the goverment of all the reſt, that is to ſay, univerſal monarchy; the very ſame bait with which he has played upon the frailty of princes, and enſnared the greateſt of them ever ſince, even from his Moſt Auguſt Imperial Majeſty King Nimrod the Firſt, to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty Louis XIV. and many a mighty monarch between.

When theſe mighty monarchs and men of fame went off the ſtage, the world had their memories in eſteem many ages after, and as their great actions were no otherwiſe recorded than by moral tradition and the tongues and memories of fallible men time, and the cuſtom of magnifying the paſt actions of kings men ſoon fabled up their hiſtories, Satan aſſiſting, into miracle and wonder. Hence their names were had in veneration more and more ſtatues and buſtoes, repreſenting their perſons and great actions, were ſet up in public places, till from heroes and champions, they made gods of them; and thus (Satan prompting) the world was quickly filled with idols.

This Nimrod is he, who, according to the received opinion though I do not find Satan's hiſtory exactly concurring with it, was firſt called Belus, then Baal, and worſhipped in moſt of the eaſtern countries under thoſe names; ſometimes with additions of ſirnames, according to the ſeveral countries, or people, or towns where he was particularly ſet up, as Baal-Peor, Baal-Zephon, Baal-Phegor, and in other places plain Baal, as Jupiter, in after times had the like additions; as Jupiter Ammon, Jupiter-Capitolinus, Jupiter-Piſtor, Jupiter-Feretrius, and about 10 or 12 Jupiters more.

I muſt acknowledge, that I think it was a maſter piece of hell, to bring the world to idolatry as ſoon after they had had ſuch an eminent example of the infinite power of the true God as was ſeen in the deluge, and particlarly in the eſcape of Noah in the ark; to bring them (even before Noah or his ſons were dead) to forget whoſe hand it was, and give the honour of the world to a name, and that a name of a mortal man, dead and rotten, who was famous for nothing when he was alive but blood and war: I ſay, to bring the world to ſet up this

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hing, this mere name, nay, the very image and picture of him or a god, it was firſt a mark of moſt prodigious ſtupidity in he whole race of men, a monſtrous degeneracy from nature, nd even from common ſenſe; and in the next place, it was token of an inexpreſſible craft and ſubtility in the Devil, who ad now gotten the people into ſo full and complete a manage- ent, that, in ſhort, he could have brought them, by the ſame ule, to have worſhipped any thing; and in a little while more id bring many of them to worſhip himſelf, plain Devil as he as, and knowing him to be ſuch

As to the antiquity of this horrible defection of mankind, hough we do not find the beginning of it particularly record- d; yet we are certain it was not long after the confuſion of abel; for Nimrod, as it is ſaid was no more than Noah's reat grandſon, and Noah himſelf, I ſuppoſe might be alive me years after Nimrod was born; and as Nimrod was not ng dead, before they forgot he was a tyrant and a murderer, nd made a Baal, that is, a lord or idol of him: I ſay he was ot long dead; for Nimrod was born in the year of the world 847, and built Babylon the year 1879; and we find Terah, the ther of Abraham, who lived from the year 1879, was an ido- ter, as was doubtleſs Bethuel, who was Terah's grandſon; r we find Laban, who was Bethuel's ſon, was ſo, and all this as during the life of the firſt poſtdiluvian family; for Terah as born within 193 years after the flood, and 153 years be- re Noah was dead; and even Abraham himſelf was 58 years d before Noah died; and yet idolatry had been then, in all robability, above 100 years practiſed in the world.

. B. It is worth remark here, what a terrible advantage the Devil gained by debauching poor Noah, and drawing him into the ſin of drunkenneſs: for by this, as I ſaid, he ſilen- ced and ſtopped the mouth of the great Preacher of righ- teouſneſs, that father and Patriarch of the whole world; who not being able, for the ſhame of his own foul miſcar- riage, to pretend to inſtruct or reprove the world any more, the Devil took hold of them immediately; and, for want of a prophet to warn and admoniſh, run that little of religion which there might be left in Shem and Japhet, quite out of the world, and deluged them all in *idolatry*.

How long the whole world may be ſaid to be thus over- helmed in ignorance and idolatry, we may make ſome toler- ble gueſs at by the hiſtory of Abraham; for it was not till od called him from his father's houſe, that any ſuch things

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as a church was eſtabliſhed in the world; nor even then, except in his own family and ſucceſſors, for almoſt 400 years after that call; and till God brought the Iſraelites back out of Egypt, the whole world may be ſaid to be involved in idolatry and Devil-worſhip.

So abſolute a conqueſt had the Devil made over mankind immediately after the flood, and all taking its riſe and beginning at the fatal defeat of Noah, who, had he lived untainted and invulnerable, as he had done for 600 years before, would have gone a great way to have ſtemmed the torrent of wickedneſs which broke in upon mankind; and therefore the Devil, I ſay, was very cunning, and very much in the right of it, take him as a mere Devil, to attack Noah perſonally, and give him a blow ſo ſoon.

It is true, the Devil did not immediately raze out the notion of religion, and of a God, from the minds of men; nor could he eaſily ſuppreſs the principle of worſhip and homage to to be paid to a Sovereign Being, the author of nature, and guide of the world. The Devil ſaw this clearly in the firſt ages of the new world; and therefore, as I have ſaid, he proceeded politically, and by degrees. That it was ſo, is evident from the ſtory of Job and his three friends; who, if we may take it for an hiſtory, not a fable, and may judge of the time of it by the length of Job's life, and by the family of Eliphaz the Temanite, who, it is manifeſt, was at leaſt grandſon or great grandſon to Eſau, Iſaac's eldeſt ſon; and by the language of Abimeleck, King of Gerar, to Abraham, and of Laban to Jacob, both the latter being at the ſame time Idolaters; I ſay, if we may judge of it by all theſe, there were ſtill very ſound notions of religion in the minds of men; nor could Satan, with all his cunning and policy, deface thoſe ideas, and root them out of the minds of the people.

And this put him upon taking new meaſures to keep up his intereſt, and preſerve the hold he got upon mankind; and this method was, like himſelf ſubtile and politic to the laſt degree, as his whole hiſtory makes appear; for, ſeeing he found they could not but believe the being of a God, and that they would needs worſhip ſomething, it is evident he had no game left him to play but this; namely, to ſet up wrong notions of worſhip, and bring them to a falſe worſhip inſtead of a true, ſuppoſing the object worſhipped be ſtill the ſame.

To finiſh this ſtratagem, he firſt inſinuates, that the true God was a terrible, a dreadful, unapproachable being: that to ſee him

im, was ſo frightful, that it would be preſent death: that o worſhip him immediately, was a preſumption which would rovoke his wrath; and that, as he was a conſuming fire in imſelf, ſo he would burn up thoſe in his anger that dared to ffer up any ſacrifice to him, but by the interpoſition of ſome edium, which might receive their adorations in his name.

Hence it occurred preſently, that ſubordinate gods were to e found out, and ſet up, to whom the people might pay the omage due to the Supreme God, and whom they might wor- ip in his name. This I take from the moſt ancient account f idolatry in the world; nor indeed could the Devil himſelf nd out any other reaſon why men ſhould canonize, or rather efy, their princes and men of fame, and worſhip them after ey were dead, as if they could ſave them from death and ca- mity, who were not able to ſave themſelves when they were ive: much leſs could Satan bring men to ſwallow ſo groſs, abſurd a thing, as the bowing the knee to a ſtock or a one, a calf, an ox, a lion, nay the image or figure of a calf, ch as the Iſraelites made at Mount Sinai, and ſay, "Theſe be thy gods, O Iſrael! who brought thee out of the land of Egypt."

Having thus, I ſay, brought them to ſatisfy themſelves that ey worſhipped the true God, and no other, under the figures d appearances which they made to repreſent him, it was ea- after that to worſhip any thing for the true God: and thus, a few ages, they worſhipped nothing but idols, even through- t the whole world; nor has the Devil loſt his hold in ſome rts of the world, nay, not in moſt parts of the world, to is day. He holds ſtill all the eaſtern parts of Aſia, the uthern parts of Africa, and the northern parts of Europe; d in them, the vaſt countries of China and Tartary, Perſia, d India, Guinea, Ethiopia, Zanquebar, Congo, Angolo, onomotapa, &c. In which, except Ethiopia, we find no veſ- es of any other worſhip, but that of idols, monſters, and n the Devil himſelf, till after the coming of our Saviour; d even then, if it be true that the goſpel was preached in Indies and China by St. Thomas, and in other remote untries by other of the Apoſtles, we ſee that, whatever ound Satan loſt, he ſeems to have recovered it again; and all a and Africa are at preſent over-run with paganiſm or Ma- metaniſm, which I think of the two is rather the worſt; ides all America, a part of the world, as ſome ſay, equal in neſs to all the other, in which the Devil's kingdom was

never interrupted from its first being inhabited, whenever it was to the first discovery of it by the European nations in the 16th century.

In a word, the Devil got what we may call an entire victory over mankind, and drove the worship of the true God, in a manner, quite out of the world, forcing, as it were, his Maker, in a new kind of creation, the old one proving thus ineffectual, to recover a certain number by force, and mere omnipotence, to return to their duty, serve him, and worship him. But of that hereafter.

CHAP. X.

Of God's calling a church out of the midst of a degenerate world; and of Satan's new measures upon that incident. How he attacked them immediately; and his success in those attacks.

SATAN having, as I have said in the preceding chapter, made, as it were, a full conquest of mankind debauched them all to idolatry; and brought them at least, to worship the true God by the wretched medium of corrupt and idolatrous representations, God seemed to have no true servants or worshippers left in the world; but, if I may be allowed to speak so, was obliged, in order to restore the world to their senses again, to call a select number out from among the rest, who he himself undertook should own his Godhead, or supreme authority, and worship him as he required to be worshipped: this, I say God was obliged to do, because it is evident it has not been done so much by the choice and counsel of men; for Satan would have overruled that part, as by the power and energy of some irresistable and invincible operation; and this our divines give high name to: But be it what they will, it is the second defeat or disappointment that the Devil has met with in his progress in the world: the first I have spoken of already.

It is true, Satan very well understood what was threatened to him in the original promise to the woman immediately after the fall, namely; "Thou shalt bruise his head," &c. but he did not expect it so suddenly, but thought himself sure of mankind, till the fulness of time, when the Messiah should come; and therefore it was a great surprize to him, to find that

hat Abraham, being called was ſo immediately received and ſtabliſhed, though he did not ſo immediately follow the voice hat direct him, yet in him, in his loins, was all God's church t that time contained.

In the calling Abraham, it is eaſy to ſee that there was no ther way for God to form a church, that is to ſay, to ſingle ut a people to himſelf, as the world was then ſtated, but by mmediate revelation, and a voice from heaven; all mankind were gone over to the enemy, overwhelmed in idolatry; in a word were engaged to the Devil; God Almighty, or, as the Scripture diſtinguiſhes him, the Lord, the true God, was out f the queſtion; mankind knew little or nothing of him; much eſs did they know any thing of his worſhip, or that there was uch a being in the world.

Well might it be ſaid the Lord appeared to Abraham, Gen. ii. 7. for if God had not appeared himſelf, he muſt have ſent meſſenger from heaven; and perhaps it was ſo too, for he ad not one true ſervant or worſhipper that we know of then n earth, to ſend on that errand; no prophet, no preacher of ighteouſneſs: Noah was dead, and had been ſo above ſeven-een years; and if he had not, his preaching, as I obſerved, af-er his great miſcarriage, had but little effect: We are indeed old, that Noah left behind him certain rules and orders for the rue worſhip of God, which were called the precepts of Noah, nd remained in the world for a long time; though how writ-en, when neither any letters, much leſs writing were known n the world, is a difficulty which remain, to be ſolved; and his makes me look upon thoſe laws called the precepts of Noah to be a modern invention, as I do alſo the ALPHABE-TUM NOACHI, which Bochart pretends to give account of.

But to leave that fiction, and come back to Abraham, God alled him, whether at firſt by voice without any viſion, whe-her in a dream, or night viſion, which was very ſignificant in hoſe days, or whether by ſome awful appearance, we know ot; the ſecond time, it is indeed expreſsly, God appear-d to him: be it which way it will, God himſelf called him, hewed him the land of Canaan, gave him the promiſe of it or his poſterity, and withal gave him ſuch a faith, that the Devil ſoon found there was no room for him to meddle with Abraham. It is certain, we do not read, that the Devil ever o much as attempted Abraham at all: ſome will ſuggeſt, that he command to Abraham to go and offer up his ſon Iſaac, was a temptation of the Devil, if poſſible, to defeat the glori-

ous work of God's calling an holy ſeed into the world; For firſt, if Abraham had diſobeyed that call, the new favourite had been overcome, and made a rebel of; or, ſecondly, If he had obeyed, then the promiſed ſeed had been cut off, and Abraham defeated; but as the text is expreſs, that God himſelf propoſed it to Abraham, I ſhall not ſtart the ſuggeſtions of the critics, in bar of the ſacred oracle.

Be it one way or other, Abraham ſhewed a heroike faith and courage; and, if the Devil had been the author of it, he had ſeen himſelf diſappointed in both his views; (1) by Abraham's ready and bold compliance, as believing it to be God's command; and (2) by the divine countermand of the execution, juſt as the fatal knife was lifted up.

But if the Devil left Abraham, and made no attack upon him, ſeeing him invulnerable, he made himſelf amends upon the other branch of his family, his poor nephew Lot; who, notwithſtanding he was ſo immediately under the particular care of heaven, as that the angel who was ſent to deſtroy Sodom, could do nothing till he was out of it; and who, though after he had left Zoar, and was retired into a cave to dwell, yet the ſubtile Devil found him out, deluded his two daughters, took an advantage of the fright they had been in about Sodom and Gomorrah, made them believe the whole world was burnt too, as well as thoſe cities, and that in ſhort, they could never have any huſbands, &c. and ſo, in their abundant concern to repeople the world, and that the race of mankind might not be deſtroyed, they go and lie with their own father; the Devil telling them doubtleſs how to do it, by intoxicating his head with wine; in all which ſtory, whether they were not as drunk as their father, ſeems to be a queſtion; or elſe they could not have ſuppoſed all the men in the earth were conſumed, when they knew that the little city Zoar had been preſerved for their ſakes.

This now was the third conqueſt Satan obtained by the guſt of human appetite; that is to ſay, once by eating, and twice by drinking, or drunkenneſs; and ſtill the laſt was the worſt, and moſt ſhameful; for Lot, however his daughters managed him, could not pretend he did not underſtand what the ſtrength of wine was; and one would have thought, after ſo terrible a judgment as that of Sodom was, which was, as we may ſay, executed before his face, his thoughts ſhould have been too ſolemnly engaged in praiſing God for ſparing his life to be made drunk, and that two nights together.

But

But the Devil played his game ſure, he ſet his two daughters to work; and as the Devil's inſtruments ſeldom fail, ſo he ſecured his by that helliſh ſtratagem of deluding the daughters to think all the world was conſumed but they two, and their father: To be ſure the old man could not ſuſpect that his daughter's deſign was ſo wicked as indeed it was, or that they intended to debauch him with wine, and make him drink till he knew not what he did.

Now the Devil having carried his game here, gained a great point; for as there were but two religious families in the world before, from hence a twofold generation might be ſuppoſed to riſe, religious and righteous like their parents, viz. that of Abraham, and this of Lot; this crime ruined the hopes of one of them; it could no more be ſaid that juſt Lot was in being, who vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day with the wicked behaviour of the people of Sodom; righteous Lot was degenerated into drunken inceſtuous Lot; Lot fallen from what he was, to be a wicked and unrighteous man; no pattern of virtue, no reprover of the age, but a poor fallen degenerate patriarch, who could now no more reprove or exhort, but look down and be aſhamed, and nothing to do but repent; and ſee the poor mean excuſer of all the three:

Eve ſays, *The ſerpent beguiled me, and I did eat.*
Noah ſays,——*My grandſon beguiled me, or the wine beguiled me, and I did drink.*
Lot ſays, *My daughters beguiled me, and I alſo did drink.*

It is obſervable, that as I ſaid above, Noah was ſilenced, and his preaching at an end, after that one action; ſo the like may be ſaid of Lot; and, in ſhort, we never hear one word more of either of them after it; as for mankind, but were uſeleſs to them; and as to themſelves, we never read of any of their repentance, nor have we much reaſon to believe they did repent.

From this attack of the Devil upon Lot, we hear no more of the Devil being ſo buſily employed as he had been before in the world; he had indeed but little to do; for all the reſt of the world was his own, lulled aſleep under the witchcraft of idolatry, and are ſo ſtill.

But it could not be long that the Devil lay idle; as ſoon as God called himſelf a people, the Devil could not be at reſt till he attacked them.

"Where-ever God ſets up a houſe of prayer,
"The Devil always builds a chapel there,"

Abraham indeed went off the ſtage free, and ſo did Iſaac too; they were a kind of firſt rate ſaints; we do not ſo much as read of any failing they had, or of any thing the Devil had ever the face to offer them; no, or with Jacob either; If you will excuſe him for beguiling his brother Eſau of both his birth-right, and his bleſſing: but he was buſy enough with all his children; for example,

He ſent Judah to his ſheep-ſhearing, and placed a whore (Tamar) in his way, in the poſture of temptation; ſo made him commit inceſt and whoredom both together.

He ſent inceſtuous Reuben to lie with his father's concubine Bilhah.

He ſent Dinah to the ball, to dance with the Shechemite ladies, and play the whore with their maſter.

He enraged Simeon and Levi at the ſuppoſed injury, and then prompted them to revenge, for which their father heartily curſed them.

He ſet them all together to fall upon poor Joſeph, firſt to murder him intentionally, and then actually ſell him to the Midianites.

He made them ſhew the party-coloured coat, and tell a lie to their father, to make the poor old man believe Joſeph was was killed by a lion, &c.

He ſent Potiphar's wife to attack Joſeph's chaſtity, and filled her with rage at the diſappointment.

He taught Joſeph to ſwear by the life of Pharaoh.

In a word, he debauched the whole race except Benjamin; and never man had ſuch a ſet of ſons; ſo wicked, and ſo notorious, after ſo good an introduction into the world as they all of them had, to be ſure: for Jacob, no doubt, gave them as good inſtructions as the circumſtances of his wandering condition would allow him to do.

We muſt now conſider the Devil and his affairs in a quite different ſituation; when the world firſt appeared peopled by the creating power of God, he had only Adam and Eve to take care of, and I think he plied his time with them to purpoſe enough: after the deluge he had Noah only to pitch upon and he quickly conquered him by the inſtigation of his grandſon.

At the building of Babel, he guided them by their acting all in a body as one man: ſo that, in ſhort, he managed them with eaſe, taking them as a body politic; and we find they came into his ſnare as one man; but now the children of Iſrael multiplying

multiplying in the land of their bondage, and God ſeeming to ſhew a particular concern for them, the Devil was obliged to take new meaſures, ſtand at a diſtance, and look on for ſome time.

The Egyptians were plagued even without his help; for, though the cunning artiſt, as I ſaid, ſtood and looked on, yet he durſt not meddle; nor could he make a few lice, the leaſt and meaneſt of the armies of inſects raiſed to afflict the Egyptians.

However when he perceived that God reſolved to bring the Iſraelites out, he prepared to attend them, to watch them, and be at hand upon all the wicked occaſions that might offer; as if he had been fully ſatisfied ſuch occaſions would offer, and that he ſhould not fail to have an opportunity to draw them into ſome ſnare or other; and that therefore it was his buſineſs not to be out of the way, but to be ready (as we ſay) to make his market of them in the beſt manner he could: How many ways he attempted them, nay, how many ways he conquered them in their journey, we ſhall ſee preſently.

Firſt he put them in a fright at Baal Zephon, where he thought he had drawn them into a nooſe, and where he ſent Pharoah and his army to block them up between the mountains of Phihahiroth and the Red Sea; but there indeed Satan was outwitted by Moſes, ſo far as it is feared to be an human action; for he little thought of their going dry footed through the ſea, but depended upon having them all cut in pieces the next morning by the Egyptians; an eminent proof, by the way, that the Devil has no knowledge of events, or any inſight into futurity; nay, that he has not ſo much as a ſecond ſight, or knows to day what his Maker intends to do to morrow; for had Satan known that God intended to ford them over the ſea, if he had not been able to have prevented the Miracle, he would certainly have prevented the eſcape, by finding out Pharoah and his army time enough to have taken the ſtrand before them, and ſo have driven them to the neceſſity of travelling on foot ronud the north point of that ſea, by the wilderneſs of Etan, where he would have purſued and haraſſed them with his cavalry, and in all probability have deſtroyed them: but the blind ſhort-ſighted Devil, perfectly in the dark and unacquainted with futurity, knew nothing of the matter, was as much deceived as Pharoah himſelf, ſtood ſtill flattering himſelf with the hopes of his booty and the revenge he ſhould take upon them the next morning; till he ſaw the frighted

waves

waves in an uproar, and to his utter aſtoniſhment and confuſion, ſaw the paſſage laid open, and Moſes leading his vaſt army in full march, over the dry ſpace; nay, even then it is very probable Satan did not know, that if the Egyptians followed them the ſea would return upon and overwhelm them; for I can hardly think ſo hard of the Devil himſelf, that if he had he would have ſuffered; much leſs prompted Pharoah to follow the chaſe at ſuch an expence, ſo that either he muſt be an ignorant unforſeeing Devil, or a very ungrateful falſe Devil to his friends the Egyptians.

I am inclined alſo to the more charitable opinion of Satan too, becauſe the eſcape of the Iſraelites was really a triumph over himſelf; for the war was certainly his, or at leaſt he was auxiliary to Pharaoh; it was a victory over hell and Egypt together; and he would never have ſuffered the diſgrace, if he had known it beforehand; that is to ſay, though he could not have prevented the eſcape of Iſrael, or the dividing the water, yet he might have warned the Egyptians, and cautioned them not to venture in after them.

But we ſhall ſee a great many weak ſteps taken by the Devil in the affair of this very people, and their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs; and though he was in ſome things ſucceſsful and wheedled them into many fooliſh and miſerable murmurings and wranglings againſt God, and mutinies againſt poor Moſes, yet the Devil was oftentimes baulked and diſappointed, and it is for this reaſon that I chuſe to finiſh the firſt part of his hiſtory with the particular relation of his behaviour among the Jews, becauſe alſo we do not find any extraordinary things happening any where elſe in the world for above one thouſand five hundred years, in variety, no revolutions; all the reſt of mankind lay ſtill under his yoke, quietly ſubmitted to his goverment, did juſt as he bad them, worſhipped every idol he ſet up, and, in a word, he had no difficulty with any body but the Jews and for this reaſon, I ſay, this part of his ſtory will be the more uſeful and inſtructing.

To return therefore to Moſes, and his dividing the Red Sea, that the people went over or through it, that we have the ſacred hiſtory for; but how the Devil behaved, that you muſt not come to me for, for I know not where you will find a true account of it, at leaſt not in print.

1. It was in the night they marched through; whether the Devil ſaw it in the dark or not, that is not my buſineſs.

But when he had day light for it, and viewed the next day's work,

work, I make no queſtion but all hell felt the ſurprize, the prey being thus ſnatched out of their hands unexpectedly. It is true the Egyptian's hoſt was ſent to him in their room; but that was not what he aimed at; for he was ſure enough of them in his own way, if it was not juſt at that time, yet he knew what and who they were; but as he had devoured the whole Iſraelitiſh hoſt in his imagination, to the tune of at leaſt a million and an half of ſouls; men, women and children; it was, no doubt a great diſappointment to the Devil to miſs his prey, and to ſee them all triumphing on the other ſide in ſafety.

It is true, Satan's annals do not mention this defeat; for hiſtorians are generally backward to regiſter their own misfortunes; but as we have an account of the fact from other hands ſo as we cannot queſtion the truth of it; the nature of the thing will tell us it was a diſappointment to the Devil, and a very great one too.

I cannot but obſerve here, that I think this part of the Devil's hiſtory very entertaining, becauſe of the great variety of incidents which appear in every part of it; ſometimes he is like a hunted fox, curvetting and counter running to avoid his being purſued and found out, while at the ſame time he is carrying on his ſecret deſigns to draw the people he pretends to manage, into ſome ſnare or other, to their hurt; at another time, though the compariſon is a little too low for his dignity like a monkey that has done miſchief, and which, making his own eſcape, ſits and chatters at a diſtance, as if he had triumphed in what he had done: ſo Satan, when he had drawn them in to worſhip a calf, to offer ſtrange fire, to ſet up a ſchiſm, and the like; and ſo to bring the divine vengeance upon themſelves; leaving them in their diſtreſs, kept at a diſtance, as if he looked on with ſatisfaction to ſee them burnt, ſwallowed up, ſwept away, and the like; as the ſeveral ſtories relate.

His indefatigable vigilance is, on the other hand, an uſual caveat, as well as an improving view to us; no ſooner is he routed and expoſed, defeated and diſappointed in one enterpriſe, but he begins another, and like a cunning gladiator, warily defends himſelf, boldly attacks his enemy at the ſame time. Thus we ſee up and down, conquering and conquered, through this whole part of his ſtory, till, at laſt, he receives a total defeat; of which you ſhall hear in its place: In the mean time, let take up his ſtory again at the Red Sea, where he received a great blow, inſtead of which he expected a complete victory;

victory; for, doubtleſs the Devil, and the king of Egypt too, thought of nothing but conqueſt at Phihahiroth.

However, though the triumph of the Iſraelites over the Egyptians muſt needs have been a great mortification to the Devil, and exaſperated him very much, yet the conſequence was only this; viz. that Satan like an enemy who is baulked and defeated, but not overcome, redoubles his rage, and reinforces his army, and what the Egyptians could not do for him, he reſolves to do for himſelf: In order then to take his opportunity for what miſchief might offer, being defeated, and provoked, I ſay, at the ſlur that was put upon him, he reſolves to follow them into the wilderneſs, and many a vile prank he played them there; at firſt he ſtraitens them for water, and makes them murmur againſt God, and againſt Moſes, within a very few days, nay, hours, of their greateſt deliverance of all.

Nor was this all, but in leſs than one year more we find them (at his inſtigation too) ſetting up a golden calf, and making all the people dance about it at mount Sinai; even when God himſelf had but juſt before appeared to them in the terrors of a burning fire upon the top of the mountains: and what was the pretence? Truly nothing, but that they had loſt Moſes, who uſed to be their guide and he had hid himſelf in the mount and had not been ſeen for forty days; ſo that they could not tell what was become of him. This put them all into confuſion: a poor pretence indeed, to turn them all back to idolatry! But the watchful Devil took the hint, puſhed the advantage, and inſinuated that they ſhould never ſee Moſes again; that he was certainly devoured by venturing too near the flames of fire in the mount, and preſuming upon the liberty he had taken before: In a word that God had deſtroyed Moſes, or he was ſtarved to death for want of food, having been forty days and forty nights abſent.

All theſe were, it is true, in themſelves moſt fooliſh ſuggeſtions conſidering Moſes was admitted to the viſion of God, and that God had been pleaſed to appear to him in the moſt intimate manner; that, as they might depend God would not deſtroy his faithful ſervant ſo they might have concluded he was able to ſupport his being without food as long as he thought fit: but to a people ſo eaſy to believe any thing, what could be too groſs for the Devil to perſuade them to?

A people who could dance round a calf, and call it their God, might do any thing; that could ſay to one another, that this was the great Jehovah that brought them out of the land of

of Egypt; and that within ſo few days after God's miraculous appearance to them, and for them; I ſay ſuch a people were really fitted to be impoſed upon; nothing could be too groſs for them.

This was indeed his firſt conſiderable experiment upon them as a people, or as a body: and the truth is, his affairs required it; for Satan, who had been a ſucceſsful Devil, in moſt of his attempts upon mankind, could hardly doubt of ſucceſs in any thing, after he had carried his point at mount Sinai; to bring them to idolatry in the very face of their deliverer, and juſt after the deliverance? It was more aſtoniſhing in the main than even their paſſing the Red Sea: in a word, the Devil's whole hiſtory doth not furniſh us with a ſtory equally ſupriſing.

And how was poor Aaron bewildered in it too? He that was Moſes's partner in all the great things that Moſes did in Pharaoh's ſight, and that was appointed to be his aſſiſtant and oracle, or orator rather upon all public occaſions; that he, above all the reſt, ſhould come into this abſurd and ridiculous propoſal, he that was ſingled out for the ſacred prieſthood, for him to defile his holy hands, with a polluted abominable ſacrifice, and with making the idol for them too (for it is plain that he made it,) how monſtrous it was!

And ſee what an anſwer he gives to his brother Moſes, how weak! how ſimple! I did ſo and ſo, indeed; I bad them bring the ear-rings &c. and I caſt the gold unto the fire, and it came out this calf. Ridiculous! as if the calf came out by mere fortuitous adventure, without a mould to caſt it in; which could not be ſuppoſed; and if it had not come out ſo without a mould, Moſes would certainly have known of it: had Aaron been innocent, he would have anſwered after quite another manner, and told Moſes honeſtly, that the whole body of the people came to him in a fright; that they forced him to make them an idol; which he did, by making firſt the proper mould to to caſt it in, and then taking the proper metal to caſt it from: that indeed he had ſinned in ſo doing, but that he was mobed into it, and the people terrified him; perhaps they threatened to kill him; and, if he had added, that the Devil, prompting his fear, beguiled him, he had ſaid nothing but what was certainly true: for if it was in Satan's power to make the people inſolent and outrageous enough to threaten and bully the old venerable prophet (for he was not yet a prieſt): who was the brother of their oracle Moſes, and had been partner with him in ſo many of his commiſſions; I ſay, if he could bring

bring up the paſſions of the people to an height to be rude and unmannerly to him (Aaron), and perhaps to threaten and inſult him, he may be eaſily ſuppoſed to be able to intimidate Aaron, and terrify him into a compliance.

See this cunning agent, when he has man's deſtruction in his view, how ſecurely he acts! he never wants an handle; the beſt of men have one weak place or other, and he always finds it out, takes the advantage of it, and conquers them by one artifice or another; only take it with you as you go, it is always by ſtratagem, never by force; a proof that he is not impowered to uſe violence; he may tempt, and he does prevail; but it is all legerdemain, it is all craft and artifice: he is ſtill the calumniator and deceiver, that is, the miſrepreſenter; he miſrepreſents man to God, and miſrepreſents God to man; alſo he miſrepreſents things: he puts falſe colours, and then manages the eye to ſee them with an imperfect view, raiſing clouds and fogs to intercept our ſight; in ſhort, he deceives all our ſenſes, and impoſes upon us in things which otherwiſe would be the eaſieſt to diſcern and judge of.

This indeed is in part the benefit of the Devil's hiſtory to let us ſee that he has uſed the ſame method all along, and that ever ſince he has had any thing to do with mankind, he has practiſed upon them with ſtratagem and cunning; alſo it is obſervable, that he has carried his point better that way than he would have done by fury and violence, if he had been allowed to make uſe of it; for by his power indeed he might have laid the world deſolate, and made an heap of rubbiſh of it long ago, but, as I have obſerved before, that would not have anſwered his ends half ſo well; for by deſtroying men, he would have made martyrs, and ſent abundance of good men to heaven, who would much rather have died than yielded to ſerve him, and, as he aimed to have it to fall down and worſhip him; I ſay, he would have made martyrs, and that not a few; but this was none of Satan's buſineſs; his deſign lies quite another way his buſineſs is to make men ſin, not to make them ſuffer; to make Devils of them, not ſaints; to delude them, and draw them away from their Maker, not ſend them away to him; and therefore he works by ſtratagem, not by force.

We are now come to his ſtory, as it relates to the Jewiſh church in the wilderneſs, and to the children of Iſrael in their travelling circumſtances: and this was the firſt ſcene of public management that the Devil had upon his hands in the world, for, as I have ſaid, till now he hath dealt with mankind either in

in their ſeparate condition, one by one, or elſe carried all before him, engroſſing whole nations in his ſyſtems of idolatry, and overwhelming them in an ignorant deſtruction.

But having now a whole people as it were ſnatched away from him, taken, out of his government, and, which was ſtill worſe having a view of a kingdom being ſet up independent of him, and ſuperior to his authority, it is not to be wondered at if he endeavoured to overthrow them in the infancy of their conſtitution, and tried all poſſible arts to bring them back into his own hands again.

He found them not only carried away from the country where they were faſt in his clutches ſurrounded with idols, and where we have reaſon to believe the greateſt part of them were polluted with the idolatry of the Egyptians; for we do not read of any ſtated worſhip which they had of their own; or if they did worſhip the true God, we ſcarce know in what manner they did it; they had no law given them, nothing but the covenant of circumciſion, and even Moſes himſelf had not ſtrictly obſerved that, till he was frighted into it; we read of no ſacrifices among them, no feaſts were ordained, no ſolemn worſhip appointed; and how, or in what manner they performed their homage, we know not; the paſſover was not ordained till juſt at their coming away; ſo that there was not much religion among them, at leaſt that we have any account of; and we may ſuppoſe the Devil was pretty eaſy with them all the while they were in the houſe of their bondage.

But now, to have a million of people fetched out of his hands, as it were all at once, and to have the immediate power of heaven engaged in it, and that Satan ſaw evidently God had ſingled them out in a miraculous manner to favour them, and call them his own: this alarmed him at once; and therefore he reſolves to follow them, lay cloſe ſiege to them, and take all the meaſures poſſible to bring them to rebel againſt, and diſobey God, that he might be provoked to deſtroy them; and how near he went to bring it to paſs we ſhall ſee preſently.

The making a calf, and paying an idolatrous worſhip to it, (for they acted the heathens and idolaters, not in the ſetting up the calf only, but in the manner of their worſhipping, viz. dancing and muſic, things they had not been acquainted with in the worſhip of the true God), I mention here, to obſerve how the Devil not only impoſed upon their principle, but upon their ſenſes too; as if the awful Majeſty of Heaven, whoſe glory they had ſeen in mount Sinai, where they ſtood, and

whoſe pillar of cloud and fire was their guide and protection, would be worſhipped by dancing round a calf! and that not a living creature, or a real calf, but the mere image of a calf caſt in gold, or as ſome think, in braſs gilded over.

But this was the Devil's way with mankind, namely, to impoſe upon their ſenſes and bring them into the groſſeſt follies and abſurdities; and then, having firſt made them fools, it was much the eaſier to make them offenders.

In this very manner he acted with them through all the courſe of their wilderneſs travels; for, as they were led by the hand like children, defended by Omnipotence, fed by miracles, inſtructed immediately from heaven, and in all things had Moſes for their guide, they had no room to miſcarry, but by acting the greateſt abſurdities, and committing the greateſt follies in nature; and even theſe the Devil brought them to be guilty of in a ſurpriſing manner:—1 As God himſelf relieved them in every exigence, and ſupplied them in every want, one would think it was impoſſible they ſhould be ever brought to queſtion either his willingneſs or his ability; and yet they really objected againſt both which was very provoking: And I doubt not, that when the Devil had brought them to act in ſuch a preposterous manner, he really hoped and believed God would be provoked effectually. The teſtimonies of his care of them, and ability to ſupply them, were miraculous and undeniable: he gave them water from the rock, bread from the air, ſent the fowls to feed them with fleſh, and ſupported them all the way by miracles: their health was preſerved, none were ſick among them; their cloaths did not wear out, nor their ſhoes grow old upon their feet. Could any thing be more abſurd than to doubt whether he could provide for them, who had never let them want for ſo many years.

But the Devil managed them in ſpite of miracles; nor did he ever give them over, till he had brought ſix hundred thouſand of them to provoke God ſo highly, that he would not ſuffer above two of them to go into the land of promiſe: ſo that, in ſhort, Satan gained his point as to that generation; for all their carcaſes fell in the wilderneſs. Let us take but a ſhort view to what a height he brought them, and in what a rude, abſurd manner he acted; how he ſet them upon murmuring upon every occaſion, now for water, then for bread. Nay they murmured at their bread when they had it; "Our "ſouls loaths this light bread."

He ſowed the ſeed of church rebellion in the ſons of Aaron, and

and made Nahab and Abihu offer ſtrange fire, till they were ſtrangely conſumed by fire for the doing it.

He ſet them a complaining at Taberah, and a luſting for fleſh at the firſt three days journey from mount Sinai.

He planted envy in the hearts of Miriam and Aaron againſt the authority of Moſes, to pretend God had ſpoken by them as well as by him, till he humbled the father, and made a leper of the daughter.

He debauched ten of the ſpies, frightened them with ſham appearances of things, when they went out to ſearch the land, and made them fright the whole people out of their underſtanding, as well as duty: for which ſix hundred thouſand of their carcaſes fell in the wilderneſs.

He raiſed the rebellion of Korah, and the two hundred and fifty princes, till he brought them to be ſwallowed up alive.

He put Moſes into a paſſion at Meribah, and ruffled the temper of the meekeſt man upon earth; by which he made both him and Aaron forfeit their ſhare of the promiſe, and be ſhut out from the holy land.

He raiſed a mutiny among them when they travelled from mount Hor, till they brought fiery ſerpents among them to deſtroy them.

He tried to make Balaam the prophet curſe them; but then the Devil was diſappointed. However, he brought the Midianites to debauch them with women, as in the caſe of Zimri and Cozbi.

He tempted Achan with the wedge of gold, and the Babyloniſh garment, that he might take of the accurſed thing, and be deſtroyed.

He tempted the whole people, not effectually to drive out the curſed inhabitants of the land of promiſe, that they might remain, and be goads in their ſides, till at laſt they often oppreſſed them for their idolatry, and which was worſe, debauched them to idolatry.

He prompted the Benjamites to refuſe ſatisfaction to the people, in the caſe of the wickedneſs of the men of Gibeah, to the deſtruction of the whole tribe, ſix hundred men excepted in the rock Rimmon.

At laſt he tempted them to reject the theocracy of their Maker, and call upon Samuel to make them a king; and moſt of thoſe kings he made plagues and ſorrows to them in their time, as you ſhall hear in their order.

Thus he plagued the whole body of the people continually, making them ſin againſt God, and bring judgments upon them-

themſelves, to the conſuming ſome millions of them, firſt and laſt, by the vengeance of their Maker.

As he did with the whole congregation, ſo he did with their rulers, and ſeveral of the judges, who were made inſtruments to deliver the people, yet were drawn into ſnares by the ſubtile ſerpent, to ruin themſelves, or the people they had delivered.

He tempted Gideon to make an ephod, contrary to the law of the tabernacle; and made the children of Iſrael go a whoring (that is a worſhipping) after it.

He tempted Samſon to debauch himſelf with an harlot and betray his own happy ſecret to a whore, at the expence of both his eyes, and, at laſt of his life.

He tempted Eli's ſons to lye with the woman in the very doors of the tabernacle, when they came to bring their offering to the prieſt; and he tempted poor Eli to connive at them, or not ſufficiently reprove them.

He tempted the people to carry the ark of God into the camp, that it might fall into the hands of the Philiſtines. And,

He tempted Uzza to reach out his hand to hold it up as if he that had preſerved it in the houſe of Dagon, the idol of the Philiſtines, could not keep it from falling out of the cart.

When the people had gotten a king, he immediately ſet to work, in divers ways, to bring that king to load them with plagues and calamities not a few.

He tempted Saul to ſpare the king of Amalick, contrary to God's expreſs command.

He not only tempted Saul, but poſſeſſed him with an evil ſpirit, by which he was left to wayward diſpoſitions, and was forced to have it fiddled out of him with a minſtrel.

He tempted Saul with a ſpirit of diſcontent, and with a ſpirit of envy at poor David, to hunt him like a partridge upon the mountains.

He tempted Saul with a ſpirit of divination, and ſent him to a witch to enquire of Samuel for him; as if God would help him after the death of that prophet, when he had forſaken him during his life.

After that, he tempted him to kill himſelf, on a pretence that he might not fall into the hands of the uncircumciſed; as if ſelf murder was not half ſo bad, either for ſin againſt God, or diſgrace among men, as being taken priſoner by a Philiſtine! a piece of madneſs none but the Devil could have brought mankind to ſubmit to, though ſome ages after that he made it a faſhion among the Romans.

Afte

After Saul was dead, and David came to the throne, by how much he was a man choſen, and particularly favoured by heaven, the Devil fell upon him with the more vigour, attacked him ſo many ways, and conquered him ſo very often, that, as no man was ſo good a king, ſo hardly any good king was ever a worſe man. In many caſes, one would have almoſt thought the Devil had made ſport with David, to ſhew how eaſily he could overthrow the beſt man God could chuſe of the whole congregation.

He made him diſtruſt his benefactor ſo much, as to feign himſelf mad before the king of Gath, when he had fled to him for ſhelter.

He made him march with his four hundred cutthroats, to cut off poor Nabal and all his houſehold, only becauſe he would not ſend him the good cheer he had provided for his honeſt ſheep ſhearers.

He made him, for his word's ſake, give Ziba half his maſter's eſtate for his treachery, after he knew he had been the traitor, and betrayed poor Mephiboſheth for the ſake of it; in which,

> "The good old king, it ſeems, was very loth
> "To break his word, and therefore broke his oath."

Then he tempted him to the ridiculous project of numbering the people, though againſt God's expreſs command; a thing Joab himſelf was not wicked enough to do, till David and the Devil forced him to it.

And to make him completely wicked, he carried him to the top of his houſe, and ſhewed him a naked lady bathing herſelf in her garden; in which it appeared, that the Devil knew David too well, and what was the particular ſin of his inclination; and ſo took him by the right handle, drawing him at once into the ſins of murder and adultery.

Then, that he might not quite give him over, (though David's repentance for the laſt ſin kept the Devil off for a while) when he could attack him no farther perſonally, he fell upon him in his family, and made him as miſerable as he could deſire him to be in his children; three of whom he brought to deſtruction before his face, and another after his death.

Firſt he tempted Amnon to raviſh his ſiſter Tamar; ſo there was an end of her, (poor girl!) as to this world, for we never heard any more of her.

Then he tempted Abſalom to murder his brother Amnon in revenge.

Then he made Joab run Abſalom through the body, contrary to David's command.

And after David's death, he brought Adonijah (weak man!) to the block, for uſurping King Solomon's throne.

As to Abſalom he tempted him to rebellion, and raiſing war againſt his father, to the turning him ſhamefully out of Jeruſalem, and almoſt out of the kingdom.

He tempted him, for David's farther mortification, to lie with his father's wives, in the face of the whole city; and had Achitophel's honeſt counſel been followed; he had certainly ſent him to ſleep with his fathers long before his time: But there Satan and Achitophel were both outwitted together.

Through all the reigns of the ſeveral ſucceſſors of David, the Devil took care to carry on his own game, to the continual inſulting the meaſures which God himſelf had taken for the eſtabliſhing his people in the world, and eſpecially as a church; till at laſt he ſo effectually debauched them to idolatry,—that crime, which of all others was moſt provoking to God, as it was carrying the people away from their allegiance, and tranſpoſing the homage they owed God their Maſter, to a contemptible block of wood, or an image of a brute beaſt; and this, how ſordid and brutiſh ſoever it was in itſelf, yet ſo did his artifice prevail among them, that, firſt or laſt, he brought them all into it, the ten tribes as well as the two tribes, till at laſt God himſelf was provoked to unchurch them, gave them up to their enemies; and the few that were left of them, after incredible ſlaughters and deſolation, were hurried away ſome into Tartary, and others into Babylon; from whence very few of that few that were carried away, ever found their way home again; and ſome, when they might have come, would not accept of it, but continued there to the very coming of the Meſſiah. See epiſtles of St James, and of St Peter, at the beginning.

But to look a little back upon this part, (for it cannot be omitted, it makes ſo conſiderable part of the Devil's hiſtory), I mean his drawing God's people, kings and all into all the ſins and miſchiefs which gradually contributed to their deſtruction.

Firſt, (for he began immediately with the very beſt and wiſeſt of the race) he drew in king Solomon, in the midſt of all his zeal for the building God's houſe, and for the making the moſt glorious and magnificent appearance for God's worſhip that ever the world ſaw: I ſay, in the middle of all this he

he drew him into ſuch immoderate and inſatiable an appetite for women, as to ſet up the firſt, and, perhaps, the greateſt ſeraglio of whores that ever any prince in the world had, or pretended to before: nay, and to bring whoring ſo much into reputation, that, as the text ſays, "ſeven hundred of them were princeſſes," that is to ſay, ladies of quality: not as the Grand Signiors and Great Moguls (other princes of the eaſtern world) have ſince practiſed, namely, to pick up their moſt beautiful ſlaves; but theſe it ſeems, were women of rank, kings daughters, as Pharaoh's daughter, and the daughters of the princes and prime men among the Moabites, Ammonites, Zidonians, Hittites, &c. 1 Kings xi. 1.

Nor was this all: but as he drew him into the love of theſe forbidden women, (for ſuch they were as to their nation, as well as number) ſo he enſnared him by thoſe women to a familiarity with their worſhip, and by degrees brought that famous prince (famous for his wiſdom) to be the greateſt and moſt impoſed upon old fool in the world; bowing down to thoſe idols, by the enticing of his whores, whom he had abhorred and deteſted in his youth, as diſhonouring that God, for whom, and for whoſe worſhip, he had finiſhed and dedicated the moſt magnificent building and temple in the world. Nothing but the invincible ſubtility of this arch Devil, could ever have brought ſuch a man as Solomon to ſuch a degeneracy of manners, and to ſuch meanneſſes; no, not the Devil himſelf, without the aſſiſtance of his whores, nor the whores themſelves without the Devil to help them.

As to Solomon, Satan had made conqueſt enough there, we need hear no more of him. The next advance he made, was in the perſon of his ſon Rehoboam. Had not the Devil prompted his pride, and tyrannical humour, he would never have given the people ſuch an anſwer as he did; and when he ſaw a fellow at the head of them too, who he knew wanted and waited for an occaſion to raiſe a rebellion, and had ripened up the people's humour to the occaſion. Well might the text call it liſtening to the counſel, of the young heads; that it was indeed without vengeance! but theſe young heads too were acted upon by an old Devil, who, for his craft, is called, as I have obſerved, the Old Serpent.

Having thus paved the way, Jeroboam revolts. So far God had directed him; for the text ſays expreſsly ſpeaking in the firſt perſon of God himſelf, "This thing is of me."

But though God might appoint Jeroboam to be king, (that is

is to ſay, of ten tribes) yet God did not appoint him to ſet up the two calves in the two extreme parts of the land, viz. in Dan and in Bethel. That was Jeroboam's own doing, and done on purpoſe to keep the people from falling back to Rehoboam, by being obliged to go to Jeruſalem to the public worſhip: And the text adds, "Jeroboam made Iſrael to ſin." This was indeed a maſter piece of the Devil's policy, and it was effectual to anſwer the end. Nothing could have been more to the purpoſe. What reaſon he had to expect the people would ſo univerſally come in to it, and be ſo well ſatisfied with a couple of calves, inſtead of the true worſhip of God at Jeruſalem; or what arts and management he (Satan) made uſe of afterwards, to bring the people in to join with ſuch a deluſion: that we find but little of in all the annals of Satan; nor is it much to the caſe. It is certain the Devil found a ſtrange kind of propenſity to worſhipping idols rooted in the temper of that whole people, even from their firſt breaking away from the Egyptian bondage; ſo that he had nothing to do but to do work upon the old ſtock, and propogate the crime that he found was ſo natural to them. And this is Satan's general way of working, not with them only, but with us alſo, and with all the world, even then, and ever ſince.

When he had thus ſecured Jeroboam's revolt, we need not trace him among his ſucceſſors; for the ſame reaſon of ſtate that held for the ſetting up the calves at Bethel and Dan, held good for the keeping them up to all Jeroboam's poſterity; nor had they one good king ever after. Even Jehu, who called his friends to come and ſee his zeal for the Lord, and who fulfilled the theatenings of God, upon Ahab and his family, and upon Queen Jezebel and her offſpring, and knew all the while that he was executing the Judgment of the true God upon an idolatrous race; yet he would not part with his calves but would have thought it had been parting with his kingdom and that as the people would have gone up to Jeruſalem to worſhip, ſo they would at the ſame time have transferred their civil obedience to the king of Judah, (whoſe right it really was, as far as they could claim by birth and right line); ſo that, by the way, Satan any more than other politicians, is not for the *jus divinum* of lineal ſucceſſion, or what we call hereditary right, any farther than ſerves for his purpoſe.

Thus Satan ridded his hands of ten of the twelve tribes. Let us now ſee how he went on with the reſt; for his work was

was now brought into a narrower compaſs. The church of God was now reduced to two tribes, except a few religious people who ſeparated from the ſchiſm of Jeroboam, and came and planted themſelves among the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The firſt thing the Devil did after this, was to foment a war between the two kings, while Judah was governed by a boy or youth, Abijah by name; and he none of the beſt neither: But God's time was not come, and the Devil received a great diſappointment; when Jeroboam was ſo entirely overthrown, that if the records of thoſe ages do not miſtake, no leſs than 500,000 men of Iſrael were killed; ſuch a ſlaughter, that one would think the army of Judah, had they known how to improve as well as gain a victory, might have brought all the reſt back again, and have entirely reduced the houſe of Jeroboam, and the ten tribes that followed him to their obedience; nay they did take a great deal of the country from them, and among the reſt Bethel itſelf; and yet ſo cunningly did Satan manage, that the king of Judah, who was himſelf a wicked king, and perhaps an idolater in his heart, did not take down the golden calf that Jeroboam had there, no, nor deſtroy the idolatry itſelf; ſo that, in ſhort, his victory ſignified nothing.

From hence to the captivity, we find the Devil buſy with the kings of Judah, eſpecially the beſt of them. As for ſuch as Manaſſah, and thoſe who tranſgreſſed in the general tenor of there lives, thoſe he had no great trouble with,

But ſuch as Aſa, Jehoſhaphat, Hezekiah and Joſiah he hung about them and their courts, till he brought every one of them into ſome miſchief or other.

At firſt, good king Aſa, of whom the Scriptures ſays "his heart was perfect all his days," yet this ſubtile ſpirit, that could break in upon him nowhere elſe, tempted him, when the king of Iſrael came out againſt him to ſend to hire Benhadad, the king of Syria, to help him; as if God, who had before enabled him to conquer the Ethiopians, with an army of ten hundred thouſand men could not have ſaved him from the king of the ten tribes.

In the ſame manner he tempted Jehoſhaphat to join with that wicked king, Ahab, againſt the king of Syria; and alſo to marry his ſon to Ahab's daughter, which was fatal to Jehoſhaphat and to his poſterity.

Again: He tempted Hezekiah to ſhew all his riches to the king of Babylon's meſſengers; and who can doubt, but that he (Satan) is to be underſtood by the wicked ſpirit which

which ſtood before the Lord, 2 Chron. xviii. 20. and offered his ſervice to entice Ahab the king of Iſrael to come out to battle, to his ruin, by being a lying ſpirit in the mouths of all his prophets, and who, for that time, had a ſpecial commiſſion, as he had another time in the caſe of Job? And indeed it was a commiſſion fit for nobody but the Devil. "Thou ſhalt en-"tice him, and thou ſhalt alſo prevail: Go out, and do even ſo," ver. 21.

Even good Joſiah himſelf, of whom it is recorded, "that "like him there was no king before him, neither after him "aroſe there any like him." 2 Kings xxiii. 25, yet the Devil never left him with his machinations, till, finding he could not tempt him to any thing wicked in his government, he tempted or moved him to a needleſs war with the king of Egypt, in which he loſt his life.

From the death of this good king, the Devil prevailed ſo with the whole nation of the Jews, and brought them to ſuch an incorrigible pitch of wickedneſs, that God gave them up, forſook his habitation of glory, the temple, which he ſuffered to be ſpoiled firſt, then burnt and demoliſhed,—deſtroying the whole nation of the Jews except a ſmall number that were left, and thoſe the enemy carried away into captivity.

Nor was he ſatisfied with this general deſtruction of the whole people of Iſrael, (for the ten tribes were gone before;) but he followed them, even into their captivity. Thoſe that fled away to Egypt, which they tell us were ſeventy thouſand, he firſt corrupted, and they were then deſtroyed there, upon the overthrow of Egypt, by the ſame king of Babylon.

Alſo, he went very near to have them rooted out young and old, man, woman, and child, who were in captivity in Babylon, by the miniſtry of that true agent of hell, Haman the Agagite. But there Satan met with a diſappointment too, as in the ſtory of Eſther, which was but the fourth that he had met with, in all his management ſince the creation: I ſay, there he was diſappointed, and his prime miniſter Haman was exalted, as he deſerved.

Having thus far traced the government and dominion of the Devil, from the creation of man to the captivity, I think I may call upon him to ſet up his ſtandard of univerſal empire at that period. It ſeemed juſt then as if God had really forſaken the earth, and given the entire dominion of mankind up to his outrageous enemy the Devil; for, excepting the few Iſraelites, which were left in the territories of the king of Babylon, and they were but a few,—I ſay, except among them, there

there was not one corner of the world left where the true God was called upon, or his dominion ſo much as acknowledged. All the world was buried in idolatry, and that of ſo many horrid kinds, that one would think the light of reaſon ſhould have convinced mankind, that he who exacted ſuch bloody ſacrifices as that of Moloch, and ſuch bloody cutting of themſelves with knives, as the prieſts of Baal did, could not be a god, a good and beneficent being, but muſt be a cruel, voracious, and devouring Devil, whoſe end was not the good, but the deſtruction of his creatures. But to ſuch a height was the blind dementated world arrived at, at that time, that in theſe ſordid and corrupt ways they went on worſhipping dumb idols, and offering human ſacrifices to them; and, in a word, committing all the moſt horrid and abſurd abominations that they were capable of, or that the Devil could prompt them to, till heaven was again put, as it were, to the neceſſity of bringing about a revolution in favour of his own people, by miracle and ſurprize, as he had done before.

We come therefore to the reſtoration or return of the captivity. Had Satan been able to have acted any thing by force, as I have obſerved before, all the princes and powers of the world having been, as they really were, at his devotion, he might eaſily have made uſe of them, armed all the world againſt the Jews, and prevented the re-building the temple, and even the return of the captivity.

But now the Devil's power manifeſtly received a check, and the hand of God appeared in it, and that he was reſolved to re-eſtabliſh his people the Jews, and to have a ſecond temple built. The Devil, who knew the extent of his own power too well, and what limitations were laid upon him, ſtood ſtill, as it were, looking on, and not daring to oppoſe the return of the captivity, which he very well knew had been propheſied, and would come to paſs.

He did indeed make ſome little oppoſition to the building and to the fortifying the city; but as it was to no purpoſe, ſo he was ſoon obliged to give it over: And thus the captivity being returned, and the temple rebuilt, the people of the Jews increaſed and multiplied to an infinite number and ſtrength; and from this time, we may ſay, the power of the Devil rather declined and decreaſed, than went on with ſucceſs, as it had done before. It is true, the Jews fell into ſects and errors, and diviſions of many kinds, after the return from the captivity

ty: and no doubt the Devil had a great hand in thoſe diviſions; but he could never bring them back to idolatry; and his not being able to do that, made him turn his hand ſo many ways to plague and oppreſs them; as particularly by Antiochus the Great, who brought the abomination of deſolation into the holy place; and there the Devil triumphed over them for ſome time; but they were delivered many ways, till at laſt they came peaceably under the protection, rather than the dominion, of the Roman empire; when Herod the Great governed them as a king, and re-edified, nay, almoſt rebuilt their temple, with ſo great an expence and magnificence, that he made it, as ſome ſay, greater and more glorious than that of Solomon's; though that I take to be a great——fable, to ſay no worſe of it.

In this condition the Jewiſh church ſtood, when the fulneſs of time, as it is called in Scripture, was come; and the Devil was kept at bay, though he had made ſome encroachments upon them as above; for there was a glorious remnant of ſaints among them, ſuch as old Zecharias, the father of John the Baptiſt, and old Simeon, who waited for the ſalvation of Iſrael: I ſay, in this condition the Jewiſh church ſtood when the Meſſiah came into the world; which was ſuch another mortal ſtab to the thrones principalities infernal, as that of which I have ſpoken already in chap. iii. at the creation of man; and therefore with this I break off the antiquities of the Devil's hiſtory, or the ancient part of his kingdom; for from hence downward, we ſhall find his empire has declined gradually; and though, by his wonderful addreſs, his prodigious application, and the vigilance and fidelity of his inſtruments, as well human, as infernal and diabolical, and of the human, as well the eccleſiaſtic as the ſecular, he has many times retrieved what he had loſt, and ſometimes bid fair for recovering the univerſal empire he once poſſeſſed over mankind: yet he has been ſtill defeated again, repulſed, and beaten back, and his kingdom has greatly declined in many parts of the world, and eſpecially in the northern parts, except Great Britain? and how he has politically maintained his intereſt, and increaſed his dominion, among the wiſe and righteous generation that we cohabit with and among, will be the ſubject of the modern part of Satan's hiſtory, and of which we are next to give an account.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF THE

DEVIL.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

I HAVE examined the antiquities of Satan's hiſtory in the former part of this work, and brought his affairs, down from the creation, as far as to our bleſſed Chriſtian times; eſpecially to the coming of the Meſſiah, when one would think the Devil could have nothing to do among us. I have indeed but touched at ſuch things which might have admitted of a farther deſcription of Satan's affairs, and the particulars of which we may all come to a farther knowledge of hereafter; yet I think I have ſpoken to the material part of his conduct, as it relates to his empire in this world; what has happened to his more ſublimated government, and his angelic capacities, I ſhall have an occaſion to touch at in ſeveral ſolid particulars as we go along.

The Meſſiah was now born, the fulneſs of time was come, that the old ſerpent was to have his head broken; that is to ſay, his empire or dominion over man, which he gained by the fall of our firſt father and mother in Paradiſe, received a downfall or overthrow.

It is worth obſerving, in order to confirm what I have already mentioned of the limitation of Satan's power, that not only his angelic ſtrength ſeems to have received a farther blow upon the coming of the Son of God into the world, but he ſeems to have had a blow upon his intellects; his ſerpentine craft and devil like ſubtility ſeems to have been circumciſed, and cut ſhort; and inſtead of his being ſo cunning a fellow as before, when, as I ſaid, it is evident he outwitted all mankind, not only Eve, Cain, Noah, Lot, and all the patriarchs, but

even nations of men, and that in their public capacity; and thereby led them into abſurd and ridiculous things, ſuch as the building of Babel, and deifying and worſhipping their kings, when dead and rotten; idolizing beaſts, ſtocks, ſtones, any thing, and even nothing; and in a word, when he managed mankind juſt as he pleaſed.

Now, and from this time forward, he appeared a weak, fooliſh, ignorant Devil, compared to what he was before. He was upon almoſt every occaſion reſiſted, diſappointed, baulked, and defeated; eſpecially in all his attempts to thwart or croſs the miſſion miniſtry of the Meſſiah, while he was upon earth, and ſometimes upon other and very mean occaſions too.

And firſt; how fooliſh a project was it, and how below Satan's celebrated artifice in like caſes, to put Herod upon ſending to kill the poor innocent children in Bethlehem, in hopes to deſtroy Chriſt? for I take it for granted, it was the Devil put into Herod's thoughts that execution, how ſimple and fooliſh ſoever; now we muſt allow him to be very ignorant of the nativity himſelf, or elſe he might eaſily have guided his friend Herod to the place where the infant was.

This ſhews that either the Devil is in general ignorant, as we are, of what is to happen in the world, before it is really come to paſs; and conſequently can foretel nothing, no not ſo much as our famous old Merlin or mother Shipton did; or elſe that great event was hid from him by an immediate power ſuperior to his, which I cannot think neither, conſidering how much he was concerned in it, and how certainly he knew that it was once to come to paſs.

But be that as it will, it is certain the Devil knew nothing where Chriſt was born, or when; nor was he able to direct Herod to find him out; and therefore put him upon that fooliſh, as well as cruel order, to kill all the children, that he might be ſure to deſtroy the Meſſiah among the reſt.

The next ſimple ſtep that the Devil took, and indeed the moſt fooliſh one that he could ever be charged with, unworthy the very dignity of a Devil, and below the underſtanding that he always was allowed to act with, was that of coming to tempt the Meſſiah in the wilderneſs: it is certain, and he owned it himſelf afterwards, upon many occaſions, that the Devil knew our Saviour to be the Son of God; and it is as certain that he knew that as ſuch he could have no power or advantage over him; how fooliſh then was it in him to attack him in that manner, "If thou be the Son of God?" why he knew him to be

the ſon of God well enough; he ſaid ſo afterwards, "I know thee who thou art, the holy One of God;" how then could he be ſo weak a Devil as to ſay, if thou art, then do ſo and ſo?

The caſe is plain, the Devil, though he knew him to be the Son of God, did not fully know the myſtery of the incarnation; nor did he know how far the inanation of Chriſt extended, and whether, as man, he was not ſubject to fall as Adam was, though his reſerved Godhead might be ſtill immaculate and pure; and upon this foot, as he would have no method untried, he attempts him three times, one immediately after another; but then, finding himſelf diſappointed, he fled.

This evidently proves, that the Devil was ignorant of the great myſtery of godlineſs, as the text calls it, God manifeſt in the fleſh; and therefore made that fooliſh attempt upon Chriſt, thinking to have conquered his human nature, as capable of ſin, which it was not: and at this repulſe, hell groaned; the whole army of regimented Devils received a wound, and felt the ſhock of it; it was a ſecond overthrow to them; they had a long train of ſucceſs; carried a deviliſh conqueſt over the greateſt part of the creation of God: but now they were cut ſhort; the ſeed of the woman was now come to break the ſerpent's head; that is to cut ſhort his power, to contract the limits of his kingdom, and in a word, to dethrone him in the world: no doubt the Devil received a ſhock: for you find him always afterwards crying out in a horrible manner, whenever Chriſt met with him; or elſe very humble and ſubmiſſive, as when he begged leave to go into the herd of ſwine, a thing he has often done ſince.

Defeated here, the firſt ſtratagem I find him concerned in after it, was his entering into Judas, and putting him upon betraying Chriſt to the chief prieſt; but here again he was entirely miſtaken; for he did not ſee, as much a Devil as he was, what the event would be; but when he came to know, that if Chriſt was put to death, he would become a propitiatory, and be the great ſacrifice of mankind, ſo to reſcue the fallen race from that death they had incurred the penalty of by the fall; that this was the fulfilling of all Scripture-prophecy; and that thus it was that Chriſt was to be the end of the law: I ſay, as ſoon as he perceived this, he ſtrove all he could to prevent it, and diſturbed Pilate's wife in her ſleep, in order to ſet her upon her huſband to hinder his delivering him up to the Jews: for then, and not till then, he knew how Chriſt was to vanquiſh hell by the power of his croſs.

Thus the Devil was diſappointed, and expoſed in every ſtep he took; and as he now plainly ſaw his kingdom declining, and even the temporal kingdom of Chriſt riſing up upon the ruins of his (Satan's) power, he ſeemed to retreat into his own region, the air, and to conſult their with his fellow Devils what meaſures he ſhould take next to preſerve his dominion among men: Here it was that he reſolved upon that truly helliſh thing called perſecution; by which, though he proved a fooliſh Devil in that too, he flattered himſelf he ſhould be able to deſtroy God's church, and root out its profeſſors from the earth even almoſt as ſoon as it was eſtabliſhed; whereas on the contrary, Heaven counteracted him there too; and though he armed the whole Roman empire againſt the Chriſtians, that is to ſay, the whole world; and they were fallen upon everywhere, with great fury and rage, by ſome of the moſt flaming tyrants that the world ever ſaw, of whom Nero was the firſt; yet in ſpite of hell, God made all the blood which the Devil cauſed to be ſpilt, to be *ſemen eccleſiæ;* and the Devil had the mortification to ſee, that the number of Chriſtians increaſed, even under the very means he made uſe of to root them out and deſtroy them, this was the caſe through the reigns of all the Roman emperors, for the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt.

Having thus tried all the methods that beſt ſuited his inclination, I mean thoſe of blood and death, complicated with tortures, and all kind of cruelty, and that for ſo long a ſpace of time as above; the Devil all on a ſudden, as if glutted with blood, and ſatiated with deſtruction, ſits ſtill, and becomes a peaceable ſpectator for a good while, as if he either found himſelf unable, or had no diſpoſition, to hinder the progreſs of Chriſtianity, in the firſt ages of its ſettlement in the world; in this interval the Chriſtian church was eſtabliſhed under Conſtantine, religion flouriſhed in peace, and under the moſt perfect tranquility; the Devil ſeemed to be at a loſs what he ſhould do next, and things began to look as if Satan's kingdom was at an end: but he ſoon let them ſee, that he was the ſame indefatigable Devil that ever he was; and the proſperity of the church gave him a large field of action; for knowing the diſpoſition of mankind to quarrel and diſpute; the univerſal paſſion rooted in nature, eſpecially among the churchmen for precedency and dominion, he fell to work with them immediately; ſo that turning the tables, and re-aſſuming the ſubtility and craft, which I ſay, he ſeemed to have loſt in the former four hundred years, he gained more ground in the next

ages

ages of the church, and went farther towards reſtoring his power and empire in the world, and towards overthrowing every church which was ſo lately eſtabliſhed, than all he had done by fire and blood before.

His policy now ſeemed to be edged with reſentment for the miſtakes he had made; as if the Devil, looking back with anger at himſelf, to ſee what a fool he had been, to expect to cruſh religion by perſecution, rejoiced for having diſcovered, that liberty and dominion was the only way to ruin the church, not fire and faggot; and that he had nothing to do, but to give the zealous people their utmoſt liberty in religion, only ſowing error and variety of opinion among them, and they would bring fire and faggot in faſt enough among themſelves.

It muſt be confeſſed theſe were deviliſh politics; and ſo ſure was the aim, and ſo certain was the Devil to hit his mark by them, that we find he not only did not fail then, but the ſame helliſh methods have prevailed ſtill and will do ſo to the end of the world. Nor had the Devil ever a better game to play than this, for the ruin of religion, as we ſhall have room to ſhew in many examples, beſides that of the diſſenters in England, who are evidently weakened by the late toleration: whether the Devil had any hand in baiting his hook with an a— of parliament or not hiſtory is ſilent: but it is too evident he has catched the fiſh by it; and if the honeſt church of England does not in pity, and Chriſtian charity to the diſſenters, ſtraiten her hand a little, I cannot but fear the Devil will gain his point, and the diſſenters will be undone by it.

Upon this new foot of politics the devil began with the emperors themſelves; Arius, the father of the heretics of that age, having broached his opinions; and Athanaſius the orthodox biſhop of the eaſt, oppoſing him: the Devil no ſooner ſaw the door open to ſtrife and impoſition, but he thruſt himſelf in, and raiſing the quarrel up to a ſuited degree of rage and ſpleen, he involved the good emperor himſelf in it firſt, and Athanaſius was baniſhed and recalled, and baniſhed and recalled again, ſeveral times, as error ran high, and as the Devil either loſt or got ground. After Conſtantine, the next emperor was a child of his own (Arian); and then the court all came into the quarrel as courts often do; and the Arians and the orthodox perſecuted one another as furiouſly as the Pagans perſecuted them all before. To ſuch an height the devil brought his conqueſt, in the very infancy of the queſtion; and ſo much did he prevail over the true Chriſtianity of the primitive church, even before

they had enjoyed the liberty of the pure worſhip twenty years.

Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the Devil made one puſh for the reſtoring paganiſm, and bringing on the old worſhip of the heathen idols and temples; but, like our King James II. he drove too hard, and Julian had ſo provoked the whole Roman empire, which was generally, at that time, become Chriſtian, that had the apoſtate lived, he would not have been able to have held the throne; and as he was cut off in his begining, paganiſm expired with him, and the Devil himſelf might have cried out as Julian did, and with much more propriety, *Vicisſii Galilæe.*

Juvian the next emperor, being a glorious Chriſtian, and a very good and great man, the Devil abdicated for a while, and left the Chriſtian armies to re-eſtabliſh the orthodox faith; nor could he bring the Chriſtians to a branch again among themſelves a great while after.

However, time, and a diligent Devil, did the work at laſt; and when the emperors, concerning themſelves one way or other did not appear ſufficient to anſwer his end, he changed hands again, and went to work with the clergy; to ſet the doctors effectually together by the ears, he threw in the new notion of primacy among them, for a bone of contention; the bate took, the prieſts ſwallowed it eagarly down; and the Devil, a cunninger fiſherman than ever St Peter was, ſtruck them (as the anglers call it) with a quick hand, and hung them faſt upon the hook.

Having them thus in his clutches, and they being now as we may ſay, his own, they took their meaſures afterwards from him, and moſt obediently followed his directions; nay, I will not ſay but he may have had pretty much the management of the whole ſociety ever ſince, of what profeſſion or party ſoever they may have been, with exception only to the reverend and right reverend among ourſelves.

The ſacred as above, being thus hooked in, and the Devil being at the head of their affairs, matters went on moſt glorioufly his own way; firſt, the biſhops fell to bandying and party-making for the ſuperiority, as heartily as ever temporal tyrants did for dominion; and took as black and deviliſh methods to carry it on, as the worſt of thoſe tyrants ever had done before them.

At laſt Satan declared for the Roman Pontiff, and that upon excellent conditions, in the reign of the emperor Mauritius; for Boniface, who had long contended for the title of ſupreme,

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fell into a treaty with Phocas, captain of the emperor's guard; whether the bargain was from hell or not, let any one judge; the conditions abſolutely entitle the Devil to the honor of making the contract, viz. That Phocas firſt murdered his maſter (the emperor), and his ſons, Boniface ſhould countenance the treaſon, and declare him emperor; and, in return, Phocas ſhould acknowledge the primacy of the church of Rome, and declare Boniface univerſal biſhop. A bleſſed compact! which at once let the Devil at the head of affairs in the Chriſtian world, as well ſpiritual as temporal, eccleſiaſtic as civil. Since the conqueſt over Eve in Paradiſe, by which death and the Devil, hand in hand, eſtabliſhed their firſt empire upon earth, the Devil never gained a more important point than he gained at this time.

He had indeed proſpered in his affairs tolerably well for ſome time before this, and his intereſt among the clergy had got ground for ſome ages; but that was indeed a ſecret management; was carried on privately, and with difficulty; as in ſowing a diſcord and faction among the people, perplexing the councils of their princes, and ſecretly wheedling in with the dignified clergy.

He alſo had raiſed abundance of little church rebellions, by ſetting up heretics of ſeveral kinds, and raiſing them favourers among the clergy, ſuch as Ebion, Corinthus, Pelagius and others.

He had drawn the biſhops of Rome to ſet up the ridiculous pageantry of the *key;* and while he the Devil ſet open the gates of hell to them all, put them upon locking up the the gates of heaven, and giving the biſhop the key; a cheat which, as groſs as it was, the Devil ſo gilded over, or ſo blinded the age to receive it, that like Gideon's ephod, all the catholic world went a whoring after the idol; and the biſhop of Rome ſent more fools to the Devil by it, than ever he pretended to let into heaven, though he opened the door as wide as his key was able to do.

The ſtory of this key being given to the biſhop of Rome by St Peter who, by the way, never had it himſelf), and of its being loſt by ſome body or other, (the Devil it ſeems did not tell them who,) and it being found again by a Lombard ſoldier, in the army of King Antharis; who attempting to cut it with his knife, was miraculouſly forced to direct the wound to himſelf, and cut his own throat; that king Antharis and his nobles, happened to ſee the fellow do it, and were converted

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to Chriſtianity by it; and that the king ſent the key, with another made like it, to Pope Pelagius, then biſhop of Rome, who thereupon aſſumed the power of opening and ſhutting heaven's gates; and afterwards ſetting a price or toll, upon the entrance as we do here at paſſing a turnpike; theſe fine things, I ſay, were ſucceſsfully managed for ſome years before this I am now ſpeaking of; and the Devil got a great deal of ground by it too; but now he triumphed openly, and having ſet up a murderer on the temporal throne, and a church emperor upon the eccleſiaſtic throne, and both of his own chuſing, the Devil may be ſaid to begin his new kingdom from this epocha, and call it the reſtoration.

Since this time indeed, the Devil's affairs went very merrily on, and the clergy brought ſo many gewgaws into their worſhip, and ſuch deviliſh principles were mixed with that which we called the Chriſtian faith; that in a word, from this time, the biſhop of Rome commenced whore of Babylon, in the moſt expreſs terms that could be imagined; tyranny of the worſt ſort crept into the pontificate; errors of all ſorts into the profeſſion; and they proceeded from one thing to another, till the very Popes, for ſo the biſhops of Rome were now called, by way of diſtinction; I ſay, the Popes themſelves, their ſpiritual guides, profeſſed openly to confederate with the Devil, and to carry on a perſonal and private correſpondence with him, at the ſame time taking upon them the title of Chriſt's Vicar, and the infallible guide of the conſciences of Chriſtians.

This we have ſundry inſtances of in ſome merry Popes, who, if fame lies not, were ſorcerers, magicians, had familiar ſpirits, and immediate converſation with the Devil, as well viſibly as inviſibly; and by this means became what we call Devils incarnate. Upon this account it is, that I have left the converſation that paſſes between Devils and men to this place, as well becauſe I believe it differs much now in his modern ſtate, from what it was in his ancient ſtate; and therefore, that which moſt concerns us belongs rather to this part of his hiſtory; as alſo, becauſe, as I am now writing to the preſent age, I chuſe to bring the moſt ſignificant parts of his hiſtory, eſpecially as they relate to ourſelves, into that part of time that we are moſt concerned in.

The Devil had once, as I obſerved before, the univerſal monarchy or government of mankind in himſelf; and I doubt not but, in that flouriſhing ſtate of his affairs, he governed them like what he is, viz. an abſolute tyrant; during this theocracy of his, for Satan is called the God of this world, he

did not familiarize himſelf to mankind ſo much as he finds occaſion to do now; there was not then ſo much need of it; he governed them with an abſolute ſway; he had his oracles, where he gave audience to his votaries, like a deity; and he had his ſub-gods, who, under his ſeveral diſpoſitions, received the homage of mankind in their names; ſuch were all the rabble of the heathen deities, from Jupiter the ſupreme, to the Lares, or houſehold gods of every family; theſe, I ſay, like reſidents, received the proſtrations; but the homage was all Satan's; the Devil had the ſubſtance of it all, which was the idolatry.

During this adminiſtration of heli, there was leſs witchcraft, leſs true literal magic, than there has been ſince; there was indeed no need of it, the Devil did not ſtoop to the mechaniſm of his more modern operations, but ruled as a deity, and received the vows and the bows of his ſubjects in more ſtate, and with more ſolemnity; whereas, ſince that, he is content to employ more agents, and take more pains himſelf too; now he runs up and down hackney in the world, more like a drudge than a prince, and much more than he did then.

Hence all thoſe things we call apparitions and viſions of ghoſts, familiar ſpirits, and dealings with the Devil, of which there is ſo great a variety in the world at this time, were not ſo much known among the people, in thoſe firſt ages of the Devil's kingdom; in a word, the Devil ſeems to be put to his ſhifts, and to fly to art and ſtratagem for the carrying on his affairs, much more now than he did then.

One reaſon for this may be, that he has been more diſcovered and expoſed in theſe ages, than he was before; then he could appear in the world in his own proper ſhapes, and yet not be known; when the ſons of God appeared at the divine ſummons, Satan came along with them; but now he has played ſo many ſcurvy tricks upon men, and they know him ſo well, that he is obliged to play quite out of ſight, and act in diſguiſe; mankind will allow nothing of his doing, and hear nothing of his ſaying, in his own name; and if you propoſe any thing to be done, and it be but ſaid the Devil is to help in the doing it; or if you ſay of any man, he deals with the Devil; or the Devil has a hand in it; every body flies him, and ſhuns him, as the moſt frightful thing in the world.

Nay, if any thing ſtrange and improbable be done, or related to be done, we preſently ſay the Devil was at the doing it; thus the great ditch at Newmarket-Heath is called the Devil's

Devil's ditch; ſo the Devil built Crowland abbey, and the whiſpering place in Gloceſter cathedral: nay the cave at Caſtleton, only becauſe there's no getting to the farther end of it, is called the Devil's A——, and the like: the poor people of Wiltſhire, when you aſk them how the great ſtones at Stonehenge were brought thither; they will all tell you the Devil brought them: if any miſchief extraordinary befals us, we preſently ſay the Devil was in it, and the Devil would have it ſo: in a word, the Devil has got an ill name among us, and ſo he is fain to act more *in tenebris*, more *incog*, than he uſed to do; play out of ſight himſelf, and work by the ſap, as the engineers call it: and not openly and avowedly, in his own name and perſon, as formerly, though perhaps not with leſs ſucceſs than he did before: and this leads me to enquire more narrowly into the manner of the Devil's management of his affairs, ſince the Chriſtian religion began to ſpread in the world, which manifeſtly differs from his conduct in more ancient times: in which, if we diſcover ſome of the moſt conſummate fool's policy, the moſt profound ſimple craft: and the moſt ſubtile ſhallow management of things that can, by our weak underſtandings, be conceived, we muſt only reſolve it into this, that, in ſhort, it is the Devil.

CHAP. II.

Of Hell, *as it is repreſented to us; and how the Devil is to be underſtood, as being perſonally in* Hell, *when at the ſame time we find him at liberty ranging over the world.*

IT is true, as that learned and pleaſant author, the inimitable Dr Brown, ſays, the Devil is his own hell: one of the moſt conſtituting parts of his infelicity is, that he cannot act upon mankind *brevi manu*, by his own inherent power, as well as rage; that he cannot unhinge this creation; which, as I have obſerved in its place, he had the utmoſt averſion to from its beginning, as it was a ſtated deſign in the Creator, to ſupply his place in heaven with a new ſpecies of beings called men, and fill the vacancies occaſioned by his degeneracy and rebellion.

This filled him with rage inexpreſſible, and horrible reſolutions of revenge; and the impoſſibility of executing thoſe reſolutions, torments him with deſpair; this, added to what he

was

was before, makes him a complete Devil, with a hell in his own breaſt, and a fire unquenchable burning about his heart.

I might enlarge here, and very much to the purpoſe, in deſcribing ſpherically and mathematically that exquiſite quality called a deviliſh ſpirit; in which it would naturally occur, to give you a whole chapter upon the glorious articles of malice and envy, and eſpecially upon that luſcious, delightful, triumphant paſſion called revenge; how natural to man, nay even to both ſexes; how pleaſant in the very contemplation, though there be not juſt at that time a power of execution; how palatable it is in itſelf; and how well it reliſhes when diſhed up with its proper ſauces; ſuch as plot, contrivance, ſcheme, and confederacy, all leading on to execution; how it poſſeſſes a human ſoul in even the moſt ſenſible parts; how it empowers mankind to ſin in imagination as effectually to all future intents and purpoſes (damnation) as if he had ſinned actually: how ſafe a practice it is too, as to puniſhment in this life; namely, that it impowers us to cut throats clear of the gallows, to ſlander virtue, reproach innocence, wound honour, and ſtab reputation; and, in a word, to do all the wicked things in the world, out of the reach of the law.

It would alſo require ſome few words to deſcribe the ſecret operations of thoſe nice qualities, when they reach the human ſoul,——how effectually they form a hell within us, and how imperceptibly they aſſimilate and transform us into Devils, mere human Devils, as really Devils as Satan himſelf, or any of his angels; and that therefore it is not ſo much out of the way as ſome imagine to ſay, ſuch a man is an incarnate Devil; for as crime made Satan a Devil; who was before a bright immortal ſeraph or angel of light, how much more eaſily may the ſame crime make the ſame Devil, though every way meaner, and more contemptible, of a man, or a woman either? But this is too grave a ſubject for me at this time.

The Devil being thus, I ſay, fired with rage and envy, in conſequence of his jealouſy upon the creation of man, his torment is increaſed to the higheſt by the limitation of his power, and being forbid to act againſt mankind by force of arms: that is, I ſay, part of his hell, which, as above, is within him, and which he carries with him where-ever he goes; nor is it ſo difficult to conceive of hell, or the Devil either, under this juſt deſcription, as it is by all the uſual notions that we are taught to entertain of them, by (the old women) our inſtructors; for every man may, by taking but a common view of himſelf and making

making a juſt ſcrutiny into his own paſſions, or ſome of their particular excurſions, ſee a hell within himſelf, and himſelf a mere Devil as long as the inflammation laſts; and that as really, and to all intents and purpoſes, as if he had the angel (Satan) before his face in all his locality and perſonality, that is to ſay, all Devil and monſter in his perſon, and an immaterial, but intenſe fire, flaming about and from within him, at all the pores of his body.

The notions we receive of the Devil, as a perſon being in hell as a place, are infinitely abſurd and ridiculous. The firſt we are certain is not true and fact, becauſe he has a certain liberty, (however limited, that is not to the purpoſe), is daily viſible, and to be traced in his ſeveral attacks upon mankind, and has been ſo ever ſince his firſt appearance in Paradiſe. As to his coporeal viſibility, that is not the preſent queſtion neither it is enough that we can hunt him by the foot, that we can follow him as hounds do a fox upon a hot ſcent. We can ſee him as plainly by the effect, by the miſchief he does, and more by the miſchief he puts us upon doing, I ſay, as plainly, as if we ſaw him by the eye.

It is not to be doubted but the Devil can ſee us when and where we cannot ſee him; and as he has a perſonality, though it be ſpirituous, he and his angels too may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to inhabit the world of ſpirits, and to have free acceſs from thence to the regions of life, and to paſs and repaſs in the air, as really, though not perceptible to us, as the ſpirits of men do after their releaſe from the body, paſs to a place (where-ever that is) which is appointed for them.

If the Devil was confined to a place (hell) as a priſon, he could then have no buſineſs here; and if we pretend to deſcribe hell as not a priſon, but that the Devil has liberty to be there, or not to be there, as he pleaſed, then he would certainly never be there, or hell is not ſuch a place as we are taught to underſtand it to be.

Indeed, according to ſome, hell ſhould be a place of fire and torment to the ſouls that are caſt into it, but not to the Devils themſelves, whom we make little more or leſs than keepers and turnkeys to hell as a goal: that they are ſent about to bring ſouls thither, lock them in when they come, and then away upon the ſcent to fetch more: that one ſort of Devils are made to live in the world among men, and to be buſy continually debauching and deluding mankind, bringing them as it were to the gates of hell; and then, another ſort are porters and carriers to fetch them in.

This is, in ſhort, little more or leſs than the old ſtory of Pluto, of Cerberus, and of Charon only; that our tale is not half ſo well told, nor the parts of the fable ſo well laid together.

In all theſe notions of hell and the Devil, the torments of the firſt, and the agency of the laſt tormenting, we meet with not one word of the main, and perhaps only accent of horror, which belongs us to judge of about hell; I mean, the abſence of heaven, expulſion and excluſion from the preſence and face of the chief ultimate, the only eternal and ſufficient God; and this loſs ſuſtained by a ſordid neglect of our concern in that excellent part, in exchange for the moſt contemptible and juſtly condemned trifles, and all this eternal and irrecoverable. Theſe people tell us nothing of the eternal reproaches of conſciences, the horror of deſperation, and the anguiſh of a mind hopeleſs of ever ſeeing the glory, which alone conſtitutes heaven, and which makes all other places dreadful, and even darkneſs itſelf.

And this brings me directly to the point in hand, viz. the ſtate of that hell we ought to have in view, when we ſpeak of the Devil as in hell. This is the very hell which is the torment of the Devil. In ſhort, the Devil is in hell, and hell is in the Devil: he is filled with this unquenchable fire; he is expelled the place of glory, baniſhed from the regions of light: abſence from the life of all beatitude is his curſe: deſpair is the reigning paſſion in his mind; and all the little conſtituent parts of his torment, ſuch as rage, envy, malice, and jealouſy, are conſolidated in this, to make his miſery complete, viz. the duration of it all, the eternity of his condition; that he is without hope, without redemption, without recovery.

If any thing can inflame this hell, and make it hotter, it is this only; and this does add an inexpreſſible horror to the Devil himſelf; namely, the ſeeing man (the only creature he hates) placed in a ſtate of recovery, a glorious ſtate of redemption formed for him in heaven, and the ſcheme of it perfected on earth; by which this man, though even the Devil by his art may have deluded him, and drawn him into crime, is yet in a ſtate of recovery, which the Devil is not, and that it is not in his (Satan's) power to prevent it. Now, take the Devil as he is in his own nature angelic, a bright immortal ſeraph, heaven born, and having taſted the eternal beatitude, which theſe are appointed to enjoy; the loſs of that ſtate to himſelf, the poſſeſſion of it granted to his rival, though wicked like

himſelf: I ſay, take the Devil as he is, having a quick ſenſe of his perdition, and a ſtinging ſenſe of his rival's felicity, is hell enough, and more than enough, for an angel to ſupport; nothing we can conceive can be worſe.

As to any other fire than this, ſuch, and ſo immaterially intenſe, as to torment a ſpirit, which is itſelf fire alſo, I will not ſay it cannot be, becauſe to God every thing is poſſible; but I muſt ſay, I cannot conceive rightly of it.

I will not enter here into the wiſdom or reaſonableneſs of repreſenting torments of hell to be fire, and that fire to be a commixture of flame and ſulphur. It has pleaſed God to let the horror of thoſe eternal agonies about a loſt heaven be laid before us by thoſe ſimilitudes or allegories, which are moſt moving to our ſenſes and to our underſtandings; nor will I diſpute the poſſibility, much leſs will I doubt but that there is to be a conſummation of miſery, to all the objects of miſery, when the Devil's kingdom in this world, ending with the world itſelf, that liberty he has now may be farther abridged; when he may be returned to the ſame ſtate he was in between the time of his fall and the creation of the world, with perhaps ſome additional vengeance on him, ſuch as at preſent we cannot deſcribe, for all that treaſon, and thoſe high crimes and miſdemeanors, which he has been guilty of here in his converſation with mankind.

As his infelicity will be then conſummated and completed, ſo the infelicity of that part of mankind who are condemned with him, may receive a conſiderable addition from theſe words in their ſentence, "to be tormented with the Devil and his "angels;" for as the abſence of the ſupreme God is a complete hell; ſo the hated company of the deceiver, who was the great cauſe of their ruin, muſt be a ſubject of additional horror; and they will be always ſaying, as a Scots Gentleman, who died of his exceſſes, ſaid to the famous Dr P——, who came to ſee him on his death bed, but had been too much his compaſion in his life,

O tu fundamenta jecisti——

I would not treat the very ſubject itſelf with any indecency; nor do I think my opinion of that hell, which I ſay conſiſts in the abſence of him in whom is heaven, one jot leſs ſolemn than theirs who believe it all fire and brimſtone: but I muſt own, that to me nothing can be more ridiculous, than the no-

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tions that we entertain and fill our heads with about hell, and about the Devils being there tormenting of ſouls, broiling them upon gridirons, hanging them upon hooks, carrying them upon their backs, and the like; with the ſeveral pictures of hell, repreſented by a great mouth with horrible teeth, gaping like a cave on the ſide of a mountain; ſuppoſe that appropriated to Satan in the peak, which indeed is not much unlike it, with a ſtream of fire coming out of it, as there is of water, and ſmaller Devil's going and coming continually in and out, to fetch and carry ſouls the Lord knows whither, and for the Lord knows what.

Theſe things, however intended for terror, are indeed ſo ridiculous, that the Devil himſelf to be ſure mocks at them: and a man of ſenſe can hardly refrain doing the like; only I avoide it, becauſe I would not give offence to weaker heads.

However, I muſt not compliment the brains of other men at the expence of my own, or talk nonſenſe becauſe they underſtand no other. I think all theſe notions and repreſentations of hell and of the Devil, to be as profane as they are ridiculous; and I ought no more to talk profanely than merrily of them.

Let us learn to talk of theſe things then as we ſhould do; and as we really cannot deſcribe them to our reaſon and underſtanding, why ſhould we deſcribe them to our ſenſes? We had, I think, much better not deſcribe them at all, that is to ſay, not attempt it. The bleſſed apoſtle St Paul was, as he ſaid himſelf, carried up, or caught up into the third heaven; yet, when he came down again, he could neither tell what he heard, or deſcribe what he ſaw: all he could ſay of it was, that what he heard was unutterable, and what he ſaw was inconceivable.

It is the ſame thing as to the ſtate of the Devil, in thoſe regions which he now poſſeſſes, and where he now more particularly inhabits. My preſent buſineſs then is, not to enter into thoſe grave things ſo as to make them ridiculous, as I think moſt people do that talk of them; but as the Devil, let his reſidence be where it will, has evidently free leave to come and go, not into this world only, (I mean the region of our atmoſphere), but, for aught we know, to all the other inhabited worlds which God has made, wherever they are, and by whatſoever names they are, or may be known, or diſtinguiſhed; for if he is not confined in one place, we have no reaſon to believe he is excluded from any place, heaven only excepted, from whence he was expelled for his treaſon and rebellion.

His liberty being then thus aſcertained, three things ſeem to be material for us to give an account of, in order to form this part of his hiſtory.

1. What his buſineſs is on this globe of earth, which we vulgarly call the world: how he acts among us: what affairs mankind and he have together; and how far his conduct here relates to us, and ours is, or may be influenced by him?

2. Where his principle reſidence is; and whether he has not a particular empire of his own, to which he retreats upon proper occaſions; where he entertains his friends when they come under his particular adminſtrations; and where, when he gets any victory over his enemies, he carries his priſoners of war?

3. What may probably be the great buſineſs this black emperor has at preſent upon his hands, either in this world or out of it; and by what agents he works?

As theſe things may, perhaps, run promiſcnouſly through the courſe of the whole work, and frequently be touched at under other branches of the Devil's hiſtory, ſo I do not propoſe them as heads of chapters, or particular ſections, for the order of diſcourſe to be handled apart; for (by the way) as Satan's actings have not been the moſt regular things in the world, ſo, in our diſcourſe about him, it muſt not be expected that we can always tie ourſelves down to order and regularity, either as to time, or place, or perſon; for Satan being *hic et ubique*, a looſe ungoverned fellow, we muſt be content to trace him where we can find him.

It is true in the foregoing chapter, I ſhewed you the Devil entered into the herd eccleſiaſtic, and gave you ſome account of the firſt ſucceſful ſtep he took with mankind ſince the Chriſtian epocha: how having ſecretly managed both temporal and ſpiritual power apart and by themſelves, he now united them in point of management, and brought the church uſurpation and the army's uſurpation together; the Pope to bleſs the general in depoſing and murdering his maſter the emperor; and the general to recognize the Pope in dethroning his maſter Jeſus Chriſt.

From this time forward, you are to allow the Devil a myſtical empire in this world; not an action of moment done without him, not a treaſon but he has an hand in it, not a tyrant but he prompts him, not a government but he has a——in it;

it; not a fool but he tickles him, not a knave but he guides him: he has a finger in every fraud, a key to every cabinet, from the Divan at Conſtantinople to the Miſſiſſipi in France, and to the South Sea cheats at————; from the firſt attack upon the Chriſtian world, in the perſon of the Roman Antichriſt down to the Bull Unigenites; and from the mixture of St Peter and Confucious in China, to the holy office in Spain; and down to the Emlins Dodwells of the current age.

How he has managed, and does manage, and how in all probility he will manage, till his kingdom ſhall come to a period, and how at laſt he will probably be managed himſelf, enquire within, and you ſhall know farther.

CHAP. III.

Of the manner of SATAN's *acting and carrying on his affairs in this world; and particularly of his ordinary workings in the dark, by poſſeſſion and agitation.*

THE Devil being thus reduced to act upon mankind by ſtratagem only, it remains to enquire how he performs and which way he directs his attacks. The faculties of man are a kind of garriſon in a ſtrong caſtle, which as they defend it on the one hand under the command of the reaſoning power of man's ſoul, ſo they are preſcribed on the other hand, and cannot ſally out without leave; for the governor of a fort does not permit his ſoldiers to hold any correſpondence with the enemy, without ſpecial order and direction. Now the great inquiry before us is, How comes the Devil to a parley with us? How does he converſe with our ſenſes, and with our underſtanding? How does he reach us? Which way does he come at the affections, and which way does he move the paſſions? It is a little difficult to diſcover this treaſonable correſpondence? and that difficulty is indeed the Devil's advantage he has over mankind.

It is alſo a great inquiry here, Whether the Devil knows our thoughts, or not? If I may give my opinion, I am with the negative, I deny that he knows any thing of our thoughts, except of thoſe which he puts us upon thinking; for I will not doubt but he has the art to inject thoughts, and to revive dormant thoughts in us. It is not ſo wild a thought as ſome

take it to be, that Mr Milton lays down to repreſent the Devil injecting corrupt deſires and wandering thoughts into the head of Eve, by dreams; and that he brought her to dream whatever he put into her thoughts, by whiſpering to her vocally when ſhe was aſleep; and to this end, he imagines the Devil laying himſelf cloſe to her ear, in the ſhape of a toad, when ſhe was faſt aſleep: I ſay this is not ſo wild a ſcheme, ſeeing even now, if you can whiſper any thing cloſe to the ear of a perſon in a deep ſleep, ſo as to ſpeak diſtinctly to the perſon, and yet not awaken him, as has been frequently tried, the perſon ſleeping ſhall dream diſtinctly of what you ſay to him, nay, ſhall dream the very words you ſay.

We then have no more to aſk, but how the Devil can convey himſelf to the ear of a ſleeping perſon? and it is granted them, that he may have power to make us dream what he pleaſes. But this is not all; for if he can ſo forcibly, by his inviſible application, cauſe us to dream what he pleaſes, why can he not, with the ſame facility, prompt our thoughts, whether ſleeping or waking? To dream, is nothing elſe but to think ſleeping; and we have abundance of deep headed gentlemen among us, who give us ample teſtimony that they dream waking.

But if the Devil can prompt us to dream, that is to ſay, to think: yet, if he does not know our thoughts, how then can he tell whether the whiſper had its effect? The anſwer is plain: The Devil, like the angler, baits the hook; if the fiſh bite, he lies ready to take the advantage: he whiſpers to the imagination, and then waits to ſee how it works: as Naomi ſaid to Ruth, chap. iii. ver. 18. "Sit ſtill my daughter, until thou know how the matter will fall: for the man will not be at reſt until he have finiſhed the thing." Thus, when the Devil had whiſpered to Eve in her ſleep, according to Milton, and ſuggeſted miſchief to her imagination, he only ſat ſtill to ſee how the matter would work; for he knew if it took with her, he ſhould hear more of it; and then by finding her alone the next day, without her ordinary guard her huſband, he preſently concluded ſhe had ſwallowed the bait; and ſo he attacked her afreſh.

A ſmall deal of craft, and leſs by far than we have reaſon to believe the Devil is maſter of, will ſerve to diſcover, whether ſuch and ſuch thoughts as he knows he has ſuggeſted have taken place or not: the action of the perſon preſently diſcovers it, at leaſt to him that lies always upon the watch, and

and has every word, every geſture, every ſtep we take ſubſequent to his operation, open to him. It may therefore for aught we know, be a great miſtake, and what moſt of us are guilty of, to tell our dreams to one another in the morning, after we have been diſturbed with them in the night; for if the Devil converſes with us ſo inſenſibly, as ſome are of opinion he does, that is to ſay, if he can hear as well as we can ſee, we may be telling our ſtory to him indeed, when we think we are only talking to one another.

This brings me moſt naturally to the important inquiry, whether the Devil can walk about the world inviſibly or not? The truth is, this is no queſtion to me; for as I have taken away his viſibility already, and have denied him all preſcience of futurity too, and have proved he cannot know our thoughts, nor put any force upon perſons or actions, if we ſhould take away his inviſibility too, we ſhould undevil him quite, to all intents and purpoſes, as to any miſchief he could do; nay, it would baniſh him the world, and he might even go and ſeek his fortune ſomewhere elſe; for if he could neither be viſible nor inviſible, neither act in public nor in private; he could neither have buſineſs or being in this ſphere, nor could we be any way concerned with him.

The Devil therefore moſt certainly has a power and liberty of moving about in this world, after ſome manner or another; this is verified as well by the way of allegory, as by way of hiſtory, in the Scripture itſelf; and as the firſt ſtrongly ſuggeſts and ſuppoſes it to be ſo, the laſt poſitively aſſerts it; and, not to croud this work with quotations from a book which we have not much to do with in the Devil's ſtory, at leaſt not much to his ſatisfaction, I only hint his perſonal appearance to our Saviour in the wilderneſs, where it is ſaid, "the Devil taketh him up to an exceeding high mountain;" and in another place, "the Devil departed from him." What ſhape or figure he appeared in, we do not find mentioned; but I cannot doubt his appearing to him there, any more than I can his talking to our Saviour in the mouths and with the voices of the ſeveral perſons who were under the terrible affliction of an actual poſſeſſion.

Theſe things leave us no room to doubt of what is advanced above: namely, that he (the Devil) has a certain reſidence, or liberty of reſiding in, and moving about upon the ſurface of this earth, as well as in the compaſs of the atmoſphere, vulgarly called the air, in ſome manner or other: that is the general.

It remains to enquire into the manner, which I reſolve into two kinds.

1. Ordinary, which I ſuppoſe to be his inviſible motions as a ſpirit; under which conſideration I ſuppoſe him to have an unconfined, unlimited, unreſtrained liberty, as to the manner of acting; and this either in perſons, by poſſeſſion; or in things by agitation.

2. Extraordinary; which I underſtand to be his appearances in borrowed ſhapes and bodies, or ſhadows rather of bodies; aſſuming ſpeech, figure, poſture, and ſeveral powers, of which we can give little or no account of; in which extraordinary manner of appearances, he is either limited by a ſuperior power, or limits himſelf politically, as being not the way moſt for his intereſt or purpoſe, to act in his buſineſs, which is more effectually done in his ſtate of obſcurity.

Hence we may ſuppoſe the Devil has it very much in his own choice, whether to act in one capacity, or in the other, or in both; that is to ſay, of appearing, and not appearing, as he finds for his purpoſe; in this ſtate of inviſibility, and under the operation of theſe powers and liberties, he performs all his functions and offices, as Devil, as prince of darkneſs, as god of this world, as tempter, accuſer, deceiver, and all whatſoever other names of office, or titles of honour, he is known by.

Now taking him in this large unlimited, or little limited ſtate of action, he is well called, the God of this World; for he has very much of the attributes of omnipreſence, and may be ſaid, either by himſelf, or his agents, to be every where and ſee every thing: that is to ſay, every thing that is viſible, for I cannot allow him any ſhare of omniſcience at all.

That he ranges about every where, is with us, and ſometimes in us, ſees when he is not ſeen, hears when he is not heard, comes in without leave, and goes out without noiſe; is neither to be ſhut in, nor ſhut out; that when he runs from us, we cannot catch him; and when he runs after us, we cannot eſcape him; is ſeen when he is not known, and is known when he is not ſeen; all theſe things, and more, we have knowledge enough about, to convince us of the truth of them, ſo that, as I have ſaid above, he is certainly walking to and fro through the earth, &c. after ſome manner or other, and in ſome figure or other, viſible, or inviſible, as he finds occaſion.

ſion. Now, in order to make our hiſtory of him complete, the next queſtion before us is, How, and in what manner he acts with mankind? How his kingdom is carried on: and by what methods he does his buſineſs! for he certainly has a great deal of buſineſs to do; he is not an idle ſpectator, nor is he walking about incognito, and clothed in miſt and darkneſs, purely in kindneſs to us, that we ſhould not be frighted at him; but it is in policy, that he may act undiſcovered, that he may ſee and not be ſeen; may play his game in the dark, and not be detected in his roguery; that he may prompt miſ-miſchief, raiſe tempeſts, blow up coals, kindle ſtrife, embroil nations, uſe inſtruments, and not be known to have his hand in any thing; when at the ſame time he really has a hand in every thing.

Some are of opinion, and I among the reſt, that if the Devil was perſonally and viſibly preſent among us, and we converſed with him face to face, we ſhould be ſo familiar with him in a little time, that his ugly figure would not affect us at all; that his terrors would not fright us; or that we ſhould any more trouble ourſelves about him, than we did with the laſt great comet in 1678, which appeared ſo long, and ſo conſtantly, without any particular known event, that at laſt we took no more notice of it, than of the other ordinary ſtars which had appeared before we or our anceſtors were born.

For indeed ſhould we have much reaſon to be frighted at him, or at leaſt none of thoſe ſilly things could be ſaid of him, which we now amuſe ourſelves about, and by which we ſet him up, like a ſcare-crow, to fright children and old women, to fill up old ſtories, make ſongs and ballads; and, in a word, carry on the low-prized buffoonery of the common people; we ſhould either ſee him in his angelic form, as he was from the original: or if he has any deformities entailed upon him by the ſupreme ſentence, and in juſtice to the deformity of his crime, they would be of a ſuperior nature, and fitted more for our contempt, as well as horror, than thoſe weak and fancied trifles contrived by our ancient Devil-raiſers and Devil-makers, to feed the wayward fancies of old witches and ſorcerers, who cheated the ignorant world with a devil of their own making, ſet forth in terrorem, with bat's wings, horns, cloven-feet, long tail, forked tongue, and the like.

In the next place, be his frightful figure what it would and his legions as numerous as the hoſt of heaven, we ſhould ſee him ſtill, as the prince of devils, though monſtrous as a dragon,

gon, flaming as a comet, tall as a mountain, yet dragging his chain after him equal to the utmoſt of his ſuppoſed ſtrength; alway in cuſtody of his gaolers the angels, his power overpowered, his rage cowed and abated, or at leaſt awed, and under correction, limited and reſtrained; in a word, we ſhould ſee him a vanquiſhed ſlave, his ſpirit broken, his malice, though not abated, yet hand-cuffed and over-powered, and he not able to work any thing againſt us by force; ſo that he would be to us but like the lions in the tower encaged and locked up, unable to do the hurt he wiſhes to do, and that we fear, or indeed any hurt at all.

From hence it is evident, that it is not his buſineſs to be public, or to walk up and down in the world viſibly, and in his own ſhape; his affairs require different management, as might be made apparent from the nature of things, and the manner of our actings, as men either with ourſelves, or to one another.

Nor could he be ſerviceable in his generation, as a public perſon, as now he is, or anſwer the end of his party who employ him, and who if he was to do their buſineſs in public, as he does in private, would not be able to employ him at all.

As, in our modern meetings, for the propagation of impudence, and other virtues, there would be no entertainment, and no improvement for the good of the age, if the people did not all appear in maſque, and concealed from the common obſervation; ſo neither could Satan (from whoſe management thoſe more happy aſſemblies are taken, as copies of a glorious original) perform the uſual and neceſſary buſineſs of his profeſſion, if he did not appear wholly in covert, and under needful diſguiſes: How, but for the convenience of his habit, could he caſt himſelf into ſo many ſhapes, act on ſo many different ſcenes, and turn ſo many wheels of ſtate in the world, as he has done! As a mere profeſſed Devil he could do nothing.

Had he been obliged always to act the mere Devil in his own cloaths, and with his own ſhape, appearing uppermoſt in all caſes and places, he could never have preached in ſo many pulpits, preſided in ſo many councils, voted in ſo many committees, ſat in ſo many courts, and influenced ſo many parties and factions in church and ſtate, as we have reaſon to believe he has done in our nation, and in our memories too, as well as in other nations, and in more ancient times. The ſhare Satan has had in all the weighty confuſions of the times, ever ſince the firſt ages of Chriſtianity in the world, has been carried

ried on with ſo much ſecrecy, and ſo much with an air of cabal and intrigue, that nothing can have been managed more ſubtilly and cloſely; and in the ſame manner has he acted in our times, in order to conceal his intereſts, and the influence he has had in the councils of the world.

Had it been poſſible for him to have raiſed the flames of rebellion and war ſo often in this nation, as he certainly has done. Could he have agitated the parties on both ſides, and inflamed the ſpirits of three nations, if he had appeared in his own dreſs, a mere naked Devil? It is not the Devil as a devil, that does the miſchief, but the Devil in maſquerade; Satan in full diſguiſe, and acting at the head of civil confuſion and diſtraction.

If hiſtory may be credited, the French court at the time of our old confuſions, was made the ſcene of Satan's politics and prompted both parties in England, and in Scotland alſo to quarrel; and how was it done? Will any man offer to ſcandalize the Devil ſo much as to ſay, or ſo much as to ſuggeſt, that Satan had no hand in it at all? Did not the Devil, by the agency of Cardinal Richlieu, ſend 400,000 crowns at one time, and 600,000 at another to the Scots, to raiſe an army and march boldly into England; and did not the ſame Devil, at the ſame time, by other agents, remit 800,000 crowns to the other party, in order to raiſe an army to fall upon the Scots? Nay did not the Devil, with the ſame ſubtility, ſend down the archbiſhop's order to impoſe the ſervice-book upon the people in Scotland; and at the ſame time raiſe a mob againſt it, in the great church (at St Gile's)? Nay, did he not actually in the perſon of an old woman, (his favourite inſtrument), throw the three-legged ſtool at the ſervice-book, and animate the zealous people to take up arms for religion, and turn rebels for God's ſake?

All theſe happy and ſucceſsful undertakings, though it is no more to be doubted they were done by the agency of Satan, and in a very ſurpriſing manner too, yet were all done in ſecret, by what I call poſſeſſion and injection, and by the agency and contrivance of ſuch inſtruments, or by the Devil in the diſguiſe or ſuch ſervants as he found out fit to be employed in his work, and whom he took a more effectual care in concealing of.

But we ſhall have occaſion to touch all this part over again, when we come to diſcourſe of the particular habits and diſguiſes which the Devil has made uſe of all along in the world,

the

the better to cover his actions, and to conceal his being concerned in them.

In the mean time, the cunning or artifice the Devil makes uſe of in all theſe things is in itſelf very conſiderable; it is an old practice of uſing, and he has gone on in divers meaſures, for the better concealing himſelf in it: which meaſures though he varies ſometimes, as his extraordinary affairs require, yet they are in all ages much the ſame, and have the ſame tendency; namely, that he may get all his buſineſs carried on by the inſtrumentality of fools; that he may make mankind agents in their own deſtruction; and that he may have all his work done in ſuch a manner as that he may ſeem to have no hand in it; nay, he contrives ſo well, that the very name Devil is put upon his oppoſite party, and the ſcandal of the black agent lies all upon them.

In order then to look a little into his conduct, let us enquire into the common miſtakes about him, ſee what uſe is made of them to his advantage, and how far mankind is impoſed upon in thoſe particulars and to what purpoſe.

CHAP. IV.

Of SATAN's agents or missionaries, and their acting upon and in the minds of men, in his name.

INFINITE advantages attend the Devil in his retired government, as they reſpect the management of his intereſts, and the carrying on his abſolute monarchy in this world, particularly as it gives him room to act by the agency of his inferior miniſters and meſſengers, called on many occaſions his angels, of whom he has an innumerable multitude at his command, enough for aught we know, to ſpare one to attend every man and woman now alive in the world; and of whom if we may believe our ſecond ſight Chriſtians, the air is always as full as a beam of the evening ſun is of inſects, where they are ever ready for buſineſs, and to go and come as their great governor iſſues out his directions. Theſe, as they are all of the ſame ſpiritnous quality with himſelf, and conſequently inviſible like him, except as above, are ready upon all occaſions to be ſent to, and into any ſuch perſon, and for ſuch purpoſes, ſuperior limitations only excepted, as the grand director of Devils (the Devil, properly ſo called), guides them; and be the ſubject, or the object, what it will, that is to ſay, be the

the perſon they are ſent to, or into, as above, who it will, and the buſineſs the meſſenger is to do what it will, they are ſufficiently qualified; for this is particular to Satan's meſſengers or agents, that they are not like us human Devils here in the world, ſome bred up one way, and ſome another, ſome of one trade ſome of another, and conſequently ſome fit for one buſineſs, ſome for another, ſome good for ſomething, and ſome good for nothing; but his people are every one fit for every thing; can find their way every where, and are a match for every body they are ſent to; in a word, there are no fooliſh Devils; they are all fully qualified for their employment, fit for any thing he ſets them about, and very ſeldom miſtake their errand, or fail in the buſineſs they are ſent to do.

Nor is it ſtrange at all, that the Devil ſhould have ſuch a numerous train of deputy Devils to act under him; for it muſt be acknowledged he has a great deal of buſineſs upon his hands, a vaſt deal of work to do, abundance of public affairs under his direction, and an infinite variety of particular caſes always before him: for example.

How many governments in the world are wholly in his adminiſtrations? How many divans and great councils under his direction? Nay, I believe, it would be hard to prove, that there is, or has been one council of ſtate in the world, for many hundred years paſt, down to the year 1713 (we do not pretend to come nearer home), where the Devil, by himſelf or his agents, in one ſhape or another, has not ſat as a member, if not taken the chair.

And though ſome learned authors may diſpute this point with me, by ſome examples, where the councils of princes have been actuated by a better hand, and were things have been carried againſt Satan's intereſt, and even to his great mortification it amounts to no more than this; namely that, in ſuch caſes, the Devil has been out-voted; but he does not argue but he might have been preſent there, and have puſhed his intereſt as far as he could, only that he had not the ſucceſs he expected; for I do not pretend to ſay, that he has never been diſappointed; but thoſe examples are ſo rare, and of ſo ſmall ſignification, that when I come to the particulars as I ſhall do it in the ſequel of this hiſtory, you will find them hardly worth naming and that take it one time with another, the Devil has met with ſuch a ſeries of ſucceſs in all his affairs, and has ſo ſeldom been baulked; and where he has met with a little check in his politics, has notwithſtanding, ſo ſoon and ſo eaſily recovered himſelf

ſelf regained his loſt ground, or placed himſelf in another country, when he has been ſupplanted in one, that his empire is far from being leſſened in the world for the laſt thouſand years of the Chriſtian eſtabliſhment.

Suppoſe we take an obſervation from the begining of Luther, or from the year 1420, and call the reformation a blow to the Devil's kingdom, which before that was come to ſuch an height in Chriſtendom, that it is a queſtion not yet thoroughly decided, whether that medley of ſuperſtition, and horrible hereſies, that maſs of enthuſiaſm and idols, called the Catholic Hierarchy, was a church of God, or a church of the Devil; whether it was an aſſembly of ſaints, or a ſynagogue of Satan; I ſay, take that time to be the epocha of Satan's declenſion, and of Lucifer's falling from heaven, that is, from the top of his terreſtrial glory; yet, whether he did not gain in the defection of the Greek church, about that time, and ſince, as much as he had loſt in the reformation of the Roman, is what authors are not yet agreed about, not reckoning what he has regained ſince of the ground which he had loſt, even by the reformation; viz. the countries of the Duke of Savoy's dominion, whether the reformation is almoſt eaten out by perſecution; the whole Valtoline, and ſome adjacent countries; the whole kingdom of Poland, and almoſt all Hungary: for ſince the laſt war, the reformation, as it were lies gaſping for breath, and expiring, in that country; alſo ſeveral large provinces in Germany, as Auſtria, Carinthia, and the whole kingdom of Bohemia, where the reformation, once powerfully planted, received its death's wound at the battle of Prague, Anno 1027 and languiſhed but a very little while, died, and was buried, and good king Popery reigned in its ſtead.

To theſe countries, thus gained to Satan's infernal empire, let us add his modern conqueſts, and the encroachments he has made mpon the reformation in the preſent age, which are, however light we make of them, very conſiderable; viz. the electorate of the Rhine, and the Palatinate, the one fallen to the houſe of Bavaria, and the other to that of Newburgh, both Popiſh; the duchy of Deaux Ponts fallen juſt now to a Popiſh branch, the whole electorate of Saxony fallen under the power of Popiſh government by the apoſtacy of their princes, and more likely to follow the fate of Bohemia, whenever the diligent Devil can bring his new project in Poland to bear, as it is more than probable he will do ſome time or other, by the growing zeal, as well as power, of (that houſe of bigots) the houſe of A——.

But to ſum up the dull ſtory; we muſt add, in the roll of the Devil's conqueſts the whole kingdom of France, where we have in one year ſeen, to the immortal glory of the Devil's politics, that his meaſures have prevailed to the total extirpation of the Proteſtant churches without a war; and that intereſt, which for 200 years had ſupported itſelf in ſpite of perſecutions, maſſacres, five civil wars, and innumerable battles and ſlaughters, at laſt received its mortal wound from its own champion Henry IV. and ſunk into utter oblivion, by Satan's moſt exquiſite management, under the agency of his two prime miniſters, Cardinal Richlieu, Lewis the XIV. whom he entirely poſſeſſed.

Thus far we have a melancholy view of the Devil's new conqueſts, and the ground he has regained upon the reformation; in which his ſecret management has been ſo exquiſite, and his politics ſo good, that could he but bring one thing to paſs, which by his own former miſtake (for the Devil is not infallible) he has rendered impoſſible, he would bring the proteſtant intereſt ſo near its ruin, that Heaven would be, as it were, put to the neceſſity of working by miracle to prevent; the caſe is thus.

Ancient hiſtorians tell us, and from good authority that the Devil finding it for his intereſt to bring his favourite Mahomet upon the ſtage, and ſpread the victorious half moon upon the ruin of the croſs, having, with great ſucceſs, raiſed firſt the Saracen empire, and then the Turkiſh, to ſuch a height, as that the name of Chriſtian ſeemed to be extirpated in thoſe two quarters of the world, which were then not the greateſt only but by far the moſt powerful, I mean Aſia, and Africa; having totally laid waſte all thoſe ancient and flouriſhing churches of Africa, the labours of St Cyprian, Tertullian, St Auguſtine, and 670 Chriſtian biſhops and fathers, who governed there at once; alſo all the churches of Smyrna, Philadelphia, Epheſus, Sardis, Antioch, Laodicea, and innumerable others in Pontus, Bythinia, and the provinces of the Leſſer Aſia.

The Devil having, I ſay, finiſhed theſe conqueſts ſo much to his ſatisfaction, began to turn his eyes northward, and though he had a conſiderable intereſt in the Whore of Babylon, and had brought his power, by the ſubjection of the Roman hierarchy, to a great height, yet finding the intereſt of Mahomet moſt ſuitable to his deviliſh purpoſes, as moſt adapted to the deſtruction of mankind, and laying waſte the world,

he reſolved to eſpouſe the growing power of the Turks and bring him in upon Europe like a deluge.

In order to this, and to make way for an eaſy conqueſt, like a true Devil, he worked under ground, and ſapped the foundation of the Chriſtian power, by ſowing diſcord among the reigning princes of Europe; that ſo envying one another, they might be content to ſtand ſtill and look on, while the Turk devoured them one by one, and at laſt, might ſwallow them all up.

This deviliſh policy took to his heart's content; the Chriſtian princes ſtood ſtill, ſtupid, dozing, and unconcerned, till the Turk conquered Thrace, over-run Servia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and all the remains of the Grecian empire, and laſt the imperial city of Conſtantinople itſelf.

Finding this politic method ſo well to anſwer his end, the Devil, who always improves upon the ſucceſs of his own experiments, reſolved, from that time, to lay a foundation for the making thoſe diviſions and jealouſies of the Chriſtian princes immortal; whereas they were at firſt only perſonal, and founded in private quarrels between the princes reſpectively; ſuch as emulation of one another's glory, envy at the extraordinary valour, or other merit, of this or that leader, or revenge of ſome little affront; for which, notwithſtanding, ſo great was the piety of Chriſtian princes in thoſe days, that they made no ſcruple to ſacrifice whole armies, yea, nations, to their piques and private quarrels; a certain ſign whoſe management they were under.

Theſe being the cauſes by which the Devil firſt ſowed the ſeeds of miſchief among them, and the ſucceſs ſo well anſwering his deſign, he could not but wiſh to have the ſame advantage always ready at his hand; and therefore he reſolved to order it ſo that theſe diviſions, which, however uſeful to him, were only perſonal, and conſequently temporary, like an annual in a garden, which muſt be raiſed anew every ſeaſon, might for the future, be rational, and conſequently durable and immortal.

To this end, it was neceſſary to lay the foundation of eternal feud, not in the humours and paſſions of men only, but in the intereſt of nations; the way to do this was to form and ſtate the dominion of thoſe princes, by ſuch a plan drawn in hell, and laid out from a ſcheme truly political, of which the Devil was chief engineer; that the diviſion ſhould always remain being made a natural conſequence of the ſituation of the country

country, the temper of the people, the nature of the commerce, the climate, the manner of living, or ſomething which ſhould for ever render it impoſſible for them to unite.

This, I ſay, was a ſcheme truly infernal, in which the Devil was as certainly the principle operator, to illuſtrate great things by ſmall, as ever John of Leyden was of the high Dutch rebellion, or Sir John B——t, of the late project, called the South ſea ſtock. Nor did this contrivance of the Devil at all diſhonour its author, or the ſucceſs appear unworthy of the undertaker; for we ſee it not only anſwered the end, and made the Turk victorious at the ſame time, and formidable to Europe ever after, but it works to this day; the foundations of the diviſions remain in all the ſeveral nations, and that to ſuch a degree, that it is impoſſible they ſhould unite.

This is what I hinted before, in which the Devil was miſtaken, and is another inſtance that he knows nothing of what is to come; for this very foundation of immortal jealouſy and diſcord between the ſeveral nations of Spain, France, Germany, and others which the Devil himſelf, with ſo much policy, contrived, and which ſerved his intereſts ſo long, is now the only obſtruction to his deſigns, and prevents the entire ruin of the reformation; for though the reformed countries are very powerful, and ſome of them, as Great Britain and Pruſſia are particularly, more powerful than ever; yet it cannot be ſaid that the Proteſtant intereſts in general are ſtronger than formerly, or ſo ſtrong as they were in 1623, under the victorious arms of the Swede: on the other hand, were it poſſible that the Popiſh powers, to wit, of France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and Poland, which are entirely Popiſh, could heartily unite their intereſts, and ſhould join their powers to attack the Proteſtants the latter would find it very difficult, if not impoſſible, to defend themſelves.

But as fatal as an union of the Popiſh powers would be, and as uſeful as it would be to the Devil's cauſe at this time, not the Devil with all his angels is able to bring it to paſs; no not with all his craft and cunning; he divided them, but he cannot unite them; ſo that even, juſt as it is with men, ſo it is with devils, they may do in an hour what they cannot undo in an age.

This may comfort thoſe faint hearted Chriſtians among us, who cry out of the danger of religious war in Europe, and what terrible things will happen when France, and Spain, and Germany, and Italy, and Poland, ſhall all unite: let this an-

ſwer ſatisfy them, the Devil himſelf can never make France and Spain, or France and the emperor, unite; jarring humours may be reconciled but jarring intereſts never can; they may unite ſo as to make peace, though that can hardly be long, but never ſo as to make conqueſts together; they are too much afraid of one another, for one to bear that any addition of ſtrength ſhould come to the other. But this is a digreſſion. We ſhall find the Devil miſtaken, and diſappointed too, on ſeveral occaſions, as we go along.

I return to Satan's intereſt in the ſeveral governments and nations, by virtue of his inviſibility, and which he carries on by poſſeſſion. It is by this inviſibility that he preſides in all the councils of foreign powers, (for we never mean our own, that we always premiſe): and what though it is alledged by the critics that he does not preſide, becauſe there is always a preſident: I ſay, if he is not in the preſident's chair, yet if he be in the preſident himſelf, the difference is not much; and if he does not vote as a counſellor if he votes in the counſellor it is much the ſame; and here, as it was in the ſtory of Ahab the king of Iſrael, as he was a lying ſpirit in the mouths of all his prophets, ſo we find him a ſpirit of ſome particular evil quality or other, in all the tranſactions and tranſactors on that ſtage of life we call the ſtate.

Thus he was a diſſembling ſpirit in Charles IX: a turbulent ſpirit in Charles V. emperor; a bigotted ſpirit of fire and faggot in our Queen Mary; an apoſtate ſpirit in Henry IV.; a cruel ſpirit in Peter of Caſtile; a revengeful ſpirit in Ferdinand II.; a phaeton in Lewis XIV.; a Sardanapalus in Charles II.

In the great men of the world, take them a degree lower than the crowned heads, he has the ſame ſecret influence, and hence it comes to paſs, that the greateſt heroes, and men of the higheſt character for atchievements of glory, either by their virtue or valour, however they have been crowned with victories, and elevated by human tongues, whatever the moſt conſumate virtues or good qualities they have been known by, yet they have always had ſome devil or other in them, to preſerve Satan's claim to them uninterrupted, and prevent their eſcape out of his hands. Thus we have ſeen a bloody devil in D'Alva; profligate devil in a Buckingham; a lying, artful, or politic devil in a Richlieu; a treacherous devil in a Mazarin; a cruel mercileſs devil in a Cortes; a debauched devil in an Eugene; a conjuring devil in a Luxemburgh, and a covetous

vetous devil in a M——h. In a word, tell me the man, and I will tell you the ſpirit that reigned in him.

Nor does he thus carry on his ſecret management by poſſeſſion in men of the firſt magnitude only; but have you not had evidences of it among ourſelves? How has he been a lying ſpirit in the mouths of our prophets; a fictious ſpirit in the heads of our politicians; a profuſe devil in a B——s; a corrupt devil in M——; a proud ſpirit in my Lord Plauſible; a bullying ſpirit in my Lord Bugbear; a talkative ſpirit in his Grace the D—— of Rattle-hall; a ſcribbling ſpirit in my Lord H——, a runaway ſpirit in my Lord frightful; and ſo through a long roll of heroes, whoſe exceeding and particular qualifications proclaim loudly what handle the Devil took them by, and how faſt he held them! for theſe were all too men of ancient fame; I hope you know that.

From the men of figure, we deſcend to the mob; and it is there the ſame thing. Poſſeſſion, like the plague, is morbus plebæi: not a family but he is a ſpirit of ſtrife and contention among them: not a man but he has a part in him: he is a drunken devil in one, a whoring devil in another, a thieving devil in a third, a lying devil in the fourth; and ſo on to a thouſand, and a hundred thouſand, ad infinitum.

Nay, even the ladies have their ſhare in the poſſeſſion: and if they have not the devil in their heads, or in their tails, in their face or in their tongues, it muſt be ſome poor deſpicable ſhe devil that Satan did not think it worth his while to meddle with; and the number of thoſe that are below his operation, I doubt is very ſmall: But that part I have much more to ſay to in its place.

From degrees of perſons, to profeſſions and employments, it is the ſame. We find the Devil is a true poſture-maſter; he aſſumes any dreſs, appears in any ſhape, counterfeits every voice, acts upon every ſtage: here he wears a gown, there a long robe: here he wears the jack-boots, there the ſmall ſword, is here an enthuſiaſt, there a buffoon; on this ſide he acts the mountebank, on that ſide the merry Andrew; nothing comes amiſs to him, from the Great Mogul to the Scaramouch: the Devil is in them, more or leſs, and plays his game ſo well, that he makes ſure with them all. He knows where the common foible lies, which is his univerſal paſſion, what handle to take hold of every man by, and how to cultivate his intereſt ſo as not to fail of his end or miſtake the means.

How then can it be denied, but that his acting thus in tene-

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bris, and keeping out of the ſight of the world, is abundantly his intereſt; and that he could do nothing, comparatively ſpeaking, by any other method.

What would his public appearance have ſignified? who would have entertained him in his own proper ſhape and perſon? Even B—— B—— himſelf, though all the world knows he had a fooliſh devil in him, would not have been fool enough to have taken him into his ſervice, if he had known him: and my Lord Simpleton alſo whom Satan has ſet up for a cunning fool, ſeems to have it fit much better upon him, how he paſſes for a fool of art, than it ſhould have done, if the naked Devil had come and challenged him for a fool in nature.

Infinite variety illuſtrates the Devil's reign among the ſons of men, all which he manages with admirable dexterity, and a ſlight particular to himſelf, by the mere advantage of his preſent concealed ſituation, and which, had he been obliged to have appeared in public had been all loſt, and he capable of juſt nothing at all, or at leaſt of nothing more than the other ordinary politicians of wickedneſs could have done without him.

Now, authors are much divided as to the manner how the Devil manages his proper inſtruments for miſchief; for Satan has a great many agents in the dark, who neither have the Devil in them, nor are they much acquainted with him, and yet he ſerves himſelf of them; whether of their folly, or of that other frailty called wit, it is all one; he makes them do his work, when they think they are doing their own; nay ſo cunning is he in his guiding the weak part of the world, that even when they think they are ſerving God, they are doing nothing leſs or more than ſerving the Devil: nay, it is ſome of the niceſt part of his operation, to make them believe they are ſerving God when they are doing his work. Thus thoſe, who the Scripture fortold ſhould perſecute Chriſt's church in the latter days, where to think they do God good ſervice. Thus the inquiſition, (for example) it may be, at this time, in all the acts of Chriſtian cruelty which they are ſo famous for, (if any of them are ignorant enough not to know that they are devils incarnate) may, for aught we know, go on for God's ſake; torture, murder, ſtarve to death, mangle, and macerate, and all for God and God's catholic church: and it is certainly the Devil's maſter-piece to bring mankind to ſuch a perfection of deviliſm as that of the Inquiſition is; for if the Devil had not been in them, could they chriſtian ſuch a hell fire

fire judicature as the Inquiſition is by the name of the holy office? And ſo in Paganiſm, how could ſo many nations among the poor Indians offer human ſacrifices to their idols, and murder thouſands of men, women and children, to appeaſe this god of the air when he is angry, if the Devil did not act in them under the vizor of devotion?

But we need not go to America, or the Inquiſition, nor to Paganiſm, or to Popery either, to look for people that are ſacrificing to the Devil, or that give their peace-offerings to him, while they are offered upon God's altar. Are not our churches (aye, and meeting houſes too, as much as they pretend to be more ſanctified than their neighbours), full of Devil worſhippers! Where do his devotees gratulate one another, and congratulate him, more than at church? Where, while they hold up their hands, and turn up their eyes towards heaven, they make all their vows to Satan, or at leaſt to the fair devils his repreſentatives, which I ſhall ſpeak of in their place?

Do not the ſons of God make aſſignations with the daughters of men in the very houſes of worſhip? Do they not talk to them in the language of the eyes? And what is at the bottom of it, while the one eye is upon the prayer-book, and the other adjuſting their dreſs, are they not ſacrificing to Venus and Mercury, nay, and the very Devil they dreſs at?

Let any man impartially ſurvey the church-geſtures, the air, the poſtures, and the behaviour: let him keep an exact roll and if I do not ſhew him two Devil-worſhippers for one true ſaint, then the word ſaint muſt have another ſignification than I ever underſtood it by.

The church (as a place) is the receptacle of the dead as well as the aſſembly of the living. What relates to thoſe below, I doubt Satan, if he would be ſo kind, could give a better account of than I can; but as to the ſuperficies, I pretend to ſo much penetration as to tell you, that there are more ſpectres, more apparitions always there, than you that know nothing of the matter can be aware of.

I happened to be at an eminent place of God's moſt devout worſhip the other day, with a gentleman of my acquaintance, who, I obſerved, minded very little the buſineſs he ought to come about. Firſt, I ſaw him always buſy ſtaring about him, and bowing this way and that way; nay, he made two or three bows and ſcrapes when he was repeating the reſponſes to the ten commandments; and I aſſure you he made it correſpond ſtrangely, ſo that the harmony was not ſo broken

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in upon as you would expect it ſhould,—thus; "Lord"—and a bow to a fine lady juſt come up to her ſeat,—"have "mercy upon us,"—three bows to a throng of ladies that came into the next pew altogether,—"and incline" then ſtopped to make a great ſcrape to my Lord—"our hearts"—juſt then the hearts of all the church were gone off from the ſubject, for the reſponſe was over; ſo he huddled up the reſt in whiſpers; for God Almighty could hear him well enough, he ſaid, nay, as well as if he had ſpoken as loud as his neighbours did.

After we were come home, I aſked him what he meant by all this, and what he thought of it?

How could I help it? (ſaid he) I muſt not be rude.

What; (ſaid I) rude to whom?

Why, (ſays he) there came in ſo many ſhe-devils, I could not help it?

What! (ſaid I) could not you help bowing when you were ſaying your prayers?

O Sir! (ſays he) the ladies would have thought I had ſlighted them; I could not avoid it.

Ladies! (ſaid I) I thought you called them devils juſt now.

Aye, aye, devils, (ſaid he) little charming devils; but I muſt not be rude to them however.

Very well (ſaid I) then you would be rude to God Almighty becauſe you could not be rude to the Devil.

Why, that's true, (ſaid he) but what can we do? if we muſt not worſhip the Devil a little between whiles.

This is the caſe indeed, and Satan carries his point on every hand; for if the fair ſpeaking world, and the fair looking world are generally devils that is to ſay, are in his management, we are ſure the foul-ſpeaking and the foul-doing world, are all on his ſide! and you have then only the fair-doing part of the world that are out of his claſs; and when we ſpeak of them, O how few!

But I return to the Devil's managing our wicked part; for this he does with the moſt exquiſite ſubtility: and this is one part of it, viz. he thruſt our vices into our virtues, by which he mixes the clean and the unclean; and thus, by the corruption of the one, poiſons and debauches the other; ſo that the ſlave he governs cannot account for his own common actions, and is fain to be obliged to his Maker to accept of the heart, without the hands and feet; to take, as we vulgarly expreſs it,

it, the will for the deed; and if heaven was not ſo good to come into the half and half ſervice, I don't ſee but the Devil would carry away all his ſervants. Here, indeed, I ſhould enter into a long detail of involuntary wickedneſs, which, in ſhort, is neither more nor leſs than the Devil in every body; aye, in every one of you, (our governors excepted) take it as you pleaſe.

What is our language, when we look back with reflection and reproach on paſt follies? I think I was bewitched, I was poſſeſſed; certainly the Devil was in me, or elſe I had never been ſuch a ſot. "Devil in you, Sir; aye, who doubts it?" You may be ſure the Devil was in you, and there he is ſtill; and the next time he can catch you in the ſame ſnare, you will be juſt the ſame ſot that you ſay you was before.

In ſhort, the Devil is too cunning for us, and manages us his own way; he governs the vices of men by his own methods. Though every crime will not make a man a devil, yet it muſt be owned, that every crime puts the criminal in ſome meaſure into the Devil's power,—gives him a title to the man, and he treats him magiſterially ever after.

Some tell us, every ſingle man, every individual, has a Devil attending him, to execute the orders of the Grand Signior Devil of the whole clan: that this attending angel (for ſo he is called) ſees every ſtep you take, is with you in every action, prompts you to every miſchief, and leaves you to do every thing that is pernicious to yourſelf. They alſo alledged, that there is a good ſpirit which attends us too; which latter is always acceſſary to every thing that we do that is good and reluctant to evil. If this is true, how comes it to paſs, that thoſe two oppoſite ſpirits do not quarrel about it, when they are preſſing us to contrary actions, one good, and the other evil? And why does the evil-tempting ſpirit ſo often prevail? Inſtead of anſwering this difficult queſtion, I ſhall only tell you, as to this ſtory of good and evil angels attending every particular perſon, it is a good allegory indeed to repreſent the ſtruggle in the mind of man, between good and evil inclinations; but to the reſt, the beſt thing I can ſay of it is, that I think it is a fib.

But to take things as they are, and only talk by way of natural conſequence, for to argue from nature is certainly the beſt way to find out the Devils ſtory: if there are good and evil ſpirits attending us, that is to ſay, a good angel and a Devil, then it is no unjuſt reproach upon any body to ſay, when

when they follow the dictates of the latter, the Devil is in them, or they are devils. Nay, I muſt carry it farther ſtill, namely, that as the generality and greateſt number of people do follow and obey the evil ſpirit, and not the good, and that the predominate power is allowed to be the nominating power; you muſt then allow, that, in ſhort, the greater part of mankind have the Devil in them, and ſo I come to my text.

To this purpoſe, give me leave to borrow a few lines of a friend, on this very part of the Devil's management;

To places and perſons he ſuits his diſguiſes,
And dreſſes up all his banditti;
Who, as pick-pockets flock to a country aſſizes,
Croud up to the court and the city.

They're at every elbow, and every ear,
And ready at every call, Sir;
The vigilant ſcout plants his agents about,
And has ſomething to do with his all, Sir.

In ſome he has part, and in ſome he's the whole,
And of ſome, (like the vicar of Baddow)
It can neither be ſaid they have body nor ſoul,
But only are devils in ſhadow.

The pretty and witty are devils in maſk,
The beauties are mere apparitions;
The homely alone by their faces are known,
And the good by their ugly conditions.

The beux walk about like the ſhadows of men,
And where-ever he lead 'em they follow;
But take 'em and ſhake 'em, there's not one in ten
But's as light as a feather, and hollow;

Thus all his affairs he drives on in diſguiſe,
And he tickles mankind with a feather!
Creeps in at our ears, and looks out at our eyes,
And jumbles our ſenſes together.

He raiſes the vapours, and prompts the deſires,
And to every dark deed holds the candle;
The paſſions inflames, and the appetite fires,
And takes every thing by the handle.

Thus he walks up and down in complete maſquerade,
And with every company mixes;
Sells in every ſhop, works at every trade,
And every thing doubtful perplexes.

How Satan comes by this governing influence in the minds and upon the actions of men, is a queſtion I am not yet come to; nor indeed does it ſo particularly belong to the Devil's hiſtory.

hiſtory. It ſeems rather a Polemic; ſo it may paſs at ſchool among the metaphyſics, and puzzle the heads of our maſters: wherefore I think to write to the learned Dr B—— about it, imploring his Moſt Sublime Haughtineſs, that when his other more momentous avocations of pedantry and pedagogiſm will give him an interval from wrath and contention, he will ſet apart a moment to conſider human nature devilized, and give us a mathematical anatomical deſcription of it, with a map of Satan's kingdom in the microciſm of mankind, and ſuch other illuminations, as to him and his contemporaries—— and——&c. in their great wiſdom ſhall ſeem meet.

CHAP. V.

Of the Devil's management to the Pagan hierarchy, by omens, intrails, augurs, oracles, and such like pageantry of hell; and how they went off the stage at last by the introduction of true religion.

I HAVE adjourned, and not finiſhed, my account of the Devil's ſecret management by poſſeſſion, and ſhall re-aſſume it in its place; but I muſt take leave to mention ſome other parts of his retired ſcheme, by which he has hitherto managed mankind; and the firſt of theſe is by that fraud of all frauds, called Oracle.

Here his trumpet had an uncertain ſound for ſome ages; and like what he was, and according to what he practiſed from the beginning, he delivered out falſehood and deluſion by retail. The prieſts of Apollo acted this farce for him, to a great nicety, at Delphos; there were divers others at the ſame time, and ſome, which, to give the Devil his due, he had very little hand in, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

There were alſo ſome ſmaller, ſome greater, ſome more, ſome leſs famous places, where thoſe oracles were ſeated, and audience given to the inquiries; in all which, the Devil, or ſome body for him, permiſſu ſuperiorum, for either vindictive, or other hidden ends and purpoſes, was allowed to make at leaſt a pretenſion to the knowledge of things to come; but as public cheats generally do, they acted in maſquerade, and gave ſuch uncertain and inconſiſtent reſponſes, that they were obliged to uſe the utmoſt art to reconcile events to the prediction, even after things were come to paſs.

Here the Devil was a lying ſpirit, in a particular and extraordinary manner, in the mouths of all the prophets, and yet he had the cunning to expreſs himſelf ſo that, whatever happened, the oracle was ſuppoſed to have meant as it fell out; and ſo all their augurs omens, and voices, by which the Devil amuſed the world, not at that time only, but ſince have been likewiſe interpreted.

Julian the apoſtate dealt mightily in theſe amuſements; but the Devil, who neither wiſhed his fall or preſaged it to him, evidenced that he knew nothing of Julian's fate; for that, as he ſent almoſt to all the oracles of the eaſt, and ſummoned all the prieſts together to inform him of the ſucceſs of his Perſian expedition, they all, like Ahab's prophets, having a lying ſpirit in them, encouraged him, and promiſed him ſucceſs.

Nay, all the ill omens which diſturbed him, they preſaged good from. For example, he was at a prodigious expence, when he was at Antioch, to buy up white beaſts and white fowls for ſacrifices, and for predicting from the intrails; from whence the Antiocians, in contempt, called him Victimarius; but whenever the intrails foreboded evil, the cunning Devil made the prieſts put a different conſtruction upon them, and and promiſe him good. When he entered into the temple of the genii to offer ſacrifice, one of the prieſts dropped down dead. This, had it had any ſignification more than a man falling dead of an apoplectic, would have ſignified ſomething fatal to Julian, who made himſelf a brother ſacriſt or prieſt whereas the prieſts turned it preſently to ſignify the death of his colleague, the conſul Sulleſt, which happened juſt at the ſame time, though eight hundred miles off: So, in another caſe, Julian thought it ominous, that he, who was Auguſtus, ſhould be named with two other names of perſons, both already dead. The caſe was thus:—The ſtile of the emperor was Julianus Felix Auguſtus, and two of his principal officers were Julianus and Felix. Now, both Julianus and Felix died within a few days of one another, which diſturbed him much, who was the third of the three names; but his flattering Devil told him it all imported good to him, viz. that though Julianus and Felix ſhould die, Auguſtus ſhould be immortal.

Thus, whatever happened and whatever was foretold, and how much ſoever they differed from one another, the lying ſpirit was ſure to reconcile the prediction and the event, and make them at leaſt ſeem to correſpond in favour of the perſon inquiring.

Now

Now, we are told oracles are ceaſed, and the Devil is farther limited for the good of mankind, not being allowed to vent his deluſions by the mouths of the prieſts and augurs as formerly. I will not take upon me to ſay how far they are really ceaſed more than they were before: I think it is much more reaſonable to believe there was never any reality in them at all, or that any oracle ever gave out any anſwers but what were the invention of the prieſts, and the deluſions of the Devil. I have a great many ancient authors on my ſide in this opinion, as Euſebius, Tertullian, Ariſtotle, and others, who as they lived ſo near the Pagan times, and when even ſome of thoſe rites were yet in uſe, they had much more reaſon to know and could probably paſs a better judgment upon them. Nay Cicero himſelf ridicules them in the openeſt manner: again, other authors deſcend to particulars, and ſhow how the cheat was managed by the heathen ſacrifts and prieſts, and in what enthuſiaſtic manner they ſpoke; namely, in going into the hollow images, ſuch as the brazen bull and the image of Apollo, and how ſubtily they gave out dubious and ambiguous anſwers: that when the people did not find their expectations anſwered by the event, they might be impoſed upon by the prieſts, and confidently told they did not rightly underſtand the oracle's meaning. However I cannot ſay but that indeed there are ſome authors of good credit too, who will have it, that there was a real prophetic ſpirit in the voice or anſwers given by the oracles, and that oftentimes they were miraculouſly exact in thoſe anſwers; and they give that of the Delphic oracle, anſwering the queſtion which was given about Crœſus, for an example, viz. What Crœſus was doing at that time? to wit, That he was boiling a lamb and the fleſh of a tortoiſe together, in a braſs veſſel or boiler, with a cover of the ſame metal, that is to ſay, in a kettle with a braſs cover.

To affirm, therefore, that they were all cheats, a man muſt encounter with antiquity, and ſet his private judgment up againſt an eſtabliſhed opinion. But it is no matter for that; If I do not ſee any thing in that received opinion capable of evidence, much leſs of demonſtration, I muſt be allowed ſtill to think as I do. Others may believe as they liſt; I ſee nothing hard or difficult in the thing; the prieſts who were always hiſtorically informed of the circumſtances of the inquirer, or at leaſt ſomething about them, might eaſily find ſome ambiguous ſpeech to make, and put ſome double intendre upon them, which, upon the event, ſolved the credit of the oracle, were

it one way or other; and this they certainly did, or we have room to think the Devil knows leſs of things now than he did in former days.

It is true, that by theſe deluſions the prieſts got infinite ſums of money; and this makes it ſtill probable that they would labour hard, and uſe the utmoſt of their ſkill to uphold the credit of their oracles; and it is a full diſcovery, as well of the ſubtility of the ſacriſts, as of the ignorance and ſtupidity of the people, in thoſe early days of Satan's witchcraft, to ſee what merry work the Devil made with the world, and what groſs things he put upon mankind. Such was the ſtory of the Dodonian oracle in Epirus, viz. that two pigeons flew out of Thebes, (N. B. It was the Egyptian Thebes) from the temple of Belus, erected there by the ancient ſacriſts and that one of theſe fled eaſtward into Lybia and the deſerts of Africa, and the other into Greece, namely, to Dodona; and theſe communicated the divine myſteries to one another, and afterwards gave myſtical ſolutions to the devout enquiries. Firſt, the Dodonian pigeon, perching upon an oak, ſpoke laudibly to the people there, That the gods commanded them to build an oracle or temple to Jupiter in that place; which was accordingly done, The other pigeon did the like on the hill in Africa, where it commanded them to build another to Jupiter Ammon, or Hammon.

Wiſe Cicero contemned all this, and, as authors tell us, ridiculed the anſwer, which, as I have hinted above, the oracle gave to Crœſus, proving that the oracle itſelf was a liar: that it could not come from Apollo, for that Apollo never ſpoke Latin. In a word, Cicero rejected them all: And Demoſthenes alſo mentions the cheats of the oracles, when ſpeaking of the oracle of Apollo, he ſaid, "Pythia Phillippized;" that is, that when the prieſts were bribed with money, they always gave their anſwers in favour of Philip of Macedon.

But that which is moſt ſtrange to me is, that in this diſpute about the reality of oracles, the heathen, who made uſe of them, are the people who expoſe them, and who inſiſt moſt poſitively upon their being cheats and impoſtors, and in particular thoſe mentioned above: while the Chriſtians, who reject them, yet believe they did really foretel things, anſwer queſtions, &c. only with this difference, that the heathen authors, who oppoſe them, inſiſt that it is all deluſion and cheat, and charge it upon the prieſts; and the Chriſtian oppoſers inſiſt that it was real, but that the Devil, not the gods, gave the

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anſwers; and that he was permitted to do it by a ſuperior power, to magnify that power in the total ſilencing them at laſt.

But, as I ſaid before, I am with the heathen here againſt the Chriſtian writers; for I take it all to be a cheat and deluſion. I muſt give my reaſon for it, or I do nothing. My reaſon is this; I inſiſt Satan is as blind in matters of futurity as we are, and can tell nothing of what is to come. Theſe oracles often pretending to predict, could be nothing elſe therefore but a cheat formed by the money-getting prieſts to amuſe the world, and bring griſt to their mill. If I meet with any thing in my way to open my eyes to a better opinion of them, I ſhall tell it you as I go on.

On the other hand, whether the Devil really ſpake in thoſe oracles, or ſet the cunning prieſts to ſpeak for him; whether they predicted, or only made the people believe they predicted; whether they gave anſwers which came to paſs, or prevailed upon the people to believe that what was ſaid did come to paſs, it was much the ſame, and fully anſwered the devil's end, namely, to amuſe and delude the world; and as to do, or to cauſe to be done, is the ſame part of ſpeech, ſo whoever did it, the Devil's intereſt was carried on by it, his government preſerved, and all the miſchief he could deſire was effectually brought to paſs; ſo that every way they were the Devil's oracles, that is out of the queſtion.

Indeed I have wondered ſometimes, why, ſince by this ſorcery the Devil performed ſuch wonders, that is, played ſo many tricks in the world, and had ſuch univerſal ſucceſs, he ſhould ſet up no more of them: but there might be a great many reaſons given for that, too long to tire you with at preſent. It is true there were not many of them; and yet, conſidering what a great deal of buſineſs they diſpatched, it was enough; for ſix or eight oracles were more than ſufficient to amuſe all the world. The chief oracles we meet with in hiſtory are among the Greeks and the Romans, viz.

That of Jupiter Ammon, in Lybia, as above.
The Dodonian, in Epirus.
Apollo Delphicus, in the coutry of Phocis, in Greece.
Apollo Clarius, in Aſia Minor.
Seraphis, in Alexandria, in Egypt.
Trophonius, in Bœotia.
Sibylla Dumæa, in Italy.
Diana, at Epheſus.
Apollo Daphneus, at Antioch.

Beſides many of leſſer note in ſeveral other places, as I have hinted before.

I have nothing to do here with the ſtory mentioned by Plutarch, of a voice being heard at ſea, from ſome of the iſlands, called the Echindes, and calling upon Thamuz, an Egyptian, who was on board a ſhip, bidding him, when he came to the Palodes, other iſlands in the Ionian ſea, tell them there that the great god Pan was dead: and when Thamuz performed it, great groanings, and howlings, and lamentations, were heard from the ſhore.

This tale tells but indifferently, though indeed it looks more like a Chriſtian fable, than a pagan; becauſe it ſeems as if made to honour the Chriſtian worſhip, and blaſt all the Pagan idolatry; and for that reaſon I reject it; the Chriſtian profeſſion needing no ſuch fabulous ſtuff to confirm it.

Nor is it true, in fact, that the oracles did ceaſe immediately upon the death of Chriſt: but, as I noted before, the ſum of the matter is this; the Chriſtian religion ſpreadeth itſelf univerſally, as well as miraculouſly, and that too by the fooliſhneſs of preaching, into all parts of the world, the oracles ceaſed, that is to ſay their trade ceaſed, their rogueries were daily detected, the deluded people, being better taught, came no more after them; and being aſhamed, as well as diſcouraged, they ſneaked out of the world as well as they could; in ſhort, the cuſtomers fell off, and the prieſts who were the ſhop-keepers having no buſineſs to do, ſhut up their ſhops, broke and went away; the trade and tradeſmen were hiſſed off the ſtage together; ſo that the Devil, who, it muſt be confeſſed, got infinitely by the cheat, became bankrupt, and was obliged to ſet other engines to work as other cheats and deceivers, do, who, when one trick grows ſtale and will ſerve no longer, are forced to try another.

Nor was the Devil at a loſs to find new meaſures; for though he could not give out his deluſive traſh as he did before, in pomp and ſtate, with the ſolemnity of a temple, and a ſet of enthuſiaſts, called prieſts, who played a thouſand tricks to amuſe the world, he had then recourſe to the old Egyptian method, which indeed was more ancient than that of oracles; and that was by magic, ſorcery, familiars, witchcraft, and the like.

Of this we find the people of the ſouth, that is, of Arabia and Chaldea, were the firſt, from whence we are told the wiſe men, that is to ſay magicians, were called Chaldeans, and

ſoothſayers. Hence alſo we find Ahaziah the king of Iſrael, ſent to Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, to enquire whether he ſhould live or die? This, ſome think, was a kind of an oracle, though, others think it was only ſome over-grown magician, who counterfeited himſelf to be a Devil, and impoſed upon that idol-hunting age to make a cunning man of him: and for that purpoſe he got himſelf made a prieſt of Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, and gave out anſwers in his name. Thus thoſe merry fellows in Egypt, Jannes and Jambres are ſaid to mimic Moſes and Aaron, when they worked the miraculous plagues upon the Egyptians; and we have ſome inſtances in Scripture to ſupport this, ſuch as the witch of Endor, the King Manaſſes, who dealt with the Devil openly; and had a familiar; the woman mentioned Acts xvi. who had a ſpirit of divination, and who got money by playing the oracle: that is, anſwering doubtful queſtions, &c. which ſpirit, or Devil, the Apoſtles caſt out.

Now, though it is true that the old women in the world have filled us with tales, ſome improbable, others impoſſible; ſome weak, ſome ridiculous; and that this puts a general diſcredit upon all the graver matrons, who entertain us with ſtories better put together; yet it is certain, and I muſt be allowed to affirm, that the Devil does not diſdain to take into his ſervice many troops of good old women, and old women-men too, whom he finds it is for his ſervice to keep in conſtant pay: To theſe he is found frequently to communicate his mind, and often times we find them ſuch proficients that they know much more than the Devil can teach them.

How far our ancient friend Merlin, or the grave matron, his (Satan's moſt truſty and well beloved couſin and counſellor, mother Shipton, were commiſſioned by him to give out their prophetic oracles, and what degree of poſſeſſion he may have arrived to in them upon their midnight excurſions, I will not undertake to prove; but that he might be acquainted with them both, as well as with ſeveral of our modern gentlemen, I will not deny neither.

I confeſs it is not very incongruous with the Devil's temper, or with the nature of his buſineſs, to ſhift hands; poſſibly he found, that he had tired the world with oracular cheat; that men began to be ſurfeited with them, and grew ſick of the frauds which were ſo frequently detected; that it was time to take new meaſures and contrive ſome new tricks to bite the world, that he might not be expoſed to contempt;

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or perhaps he ſaw the approach of new light, which the Chriſtian doctrine bringing with it, began to ſpread in the minds of men: that it would outſhine the dim burning ignis fatuus with which he had ſo long cheated mankind; and was afraid to ſtand it, leſt he ſhould be mobbed off the ſtage by his own people, when their eyes ſhould begin to open. That upon this foot, he might in policy, withdraw from thoſe old retreats, the oracles, and reſtrain thoſe reſponſes before they loſt all their credit; for we find the people ſeemed to be at a mighty loſs for ſome time, for want of them, ſo that it made them run up and down to conjurors, and man-goſſips, to brazen heads, ſpeaking calves, and innumerable ſimple things, ſo groſs, that they are ſcarce fit to be named, to ſatisfy the itch of having their fortunes told them, as we call it.

Now, as the Devil is very ſeldom blind to his own intereſt, and therefore thought fit to quit his old way of impoſing upon the world by his oracles, only becauſe he found the world began to be too wiſe to be impoſed upon that way; ſo, on the other hand, finding there was ſtill a poſſibility to delude the world, though by other inſtruments, he no ſooner laid down his oracles, and the ſolemn pageantry, magnificent appearances and other frauds of his prieſts and votaries, in their temples and ſhrines, but he ſet up a new trade: and having, as I have ſaid agents and inſtruments ſufficient for any buſineſs that he could have to employ them in, he begins in corners, as the learned and merry Dr Brown ſays, and exerciſes his minor trumperies by a way of his own contriving, lifting a great number of new found operators, ſuch as witches, magicians, diviners, figure-caſters, aſtrologers, and ſuch inferor ſeducers.

Now, it is true, as that Doctor ſays, this was running into corners, as if he had been expelled his more triumphant way, of giving audience in form, which for ſo many ages had been allowed him; yet I muſt add, that as it ſeemed to be the Devil's own doing, from a right judgment of his affairs, which had taken a new turn in the world, upon the ſhining of new lights from the Chriſtian doctrine, ſo it muſt be acknowledged the Devil made himſelf amends upon mankind, by the various methods he took, and the multitude of inſtruments he employed: and perhaps deluded mankind in a more fatal and ſenſible manner than he did before, though not ſo univerſally.

He had indeed before more pomp and figure put upon it, and he cheated mankind then in a way of magnificence and

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ſplendor; but this was not in above eight or ten principle places, and not fifty places in all, public or private; whereas now fifty thouſand of his angels and inſtruments, viſible and inviſible, hardly may be ſaid to ſuffice for one town or city; but in ſhort, as his inviſible agents fill the air, and are at hand for miſchief on every emergence, ſo his viſible tools ſwarm in every village, and you have ſcarce a hamlet; or a town, but his emiſſaries are at hand for buſineſs; and, which is ſtill worſe, in all places he finds buſineſs; nay, even where religion is planted, and ſeems to flouriſh; yet he keeps his ground and puſhes his intereſt according to what has been ſaid elſewhere, upon the ſame ſubject, that where-ever religion plants, the Devil plants cloſe by it.

Nor, as I ſay, does he fail of ſucceſs; deluſion ſpreads like a plague, and the Devil is ſure of votaries: like a true mountebank, he can always bring a crowd about his ſtage, and that ſometimes faſter than other people.

What I obſerved upon this ſubject is this; that the world is at a loſs for want of the Devil: If it was not ſo, what is the reaſon that, upon the ſilencing the oracles, and religion telling them that miracles are ceaſed, and that God has done ſpeaking by prophets, they never enquire, whether heaven has eſtabliſhed an other or new way of revelation, but away they run with their doubts and difficulties to theſe dreamers of dreams, tellers of fortunes, and perſonal oracles, to be reſolved: as if, when they acknowledge the Devil is dumb, theſe could ſpeak; and as if the wicked ſpirit could do more than the good, the diabolical more than the divine; or that heaven, having taken away the Devil's voice, had furniſhed them with an equivalent, by allowing ſcolds, termagants, and old, weak, and ſuperanuated wretches, to ſpeak for him; for theſe are the people we go to now in our doubts and emergencies.

While this blindneſs continues among us, it is nonſenſe to ſay that oracles are ſilenced, or the Devil is dumb; for the Devil gives audience ſtill, by his deputies; only as Jereboam made prieſts of the meaneſt of the people, ſo he is grown a little humble, and makes uſe of meaner inſtruments than he did before; for whereas the prieſts of Apollo, and of Jupiter, were ſplendid in their appearance, of grave and venerable aſpect, and ſometimes of no mean quality; now he makes uſe of ſcoundrels and rabble, beggars and vagabonds, old hags, ſuperanuated miſerable hermits, gypſies, and ſtrollers, the pictures of envy and ill luck.

Either the Devil is grown an ill maſter, and gives but mean wages, that he can get no better ſervants; or elſe common ſenſe is grown very low priced and contemptible; that ſuch as theſe are fit tools to continue the ſucceſſion of fraud, and carry on the Devil's intereſt in the world; for were not the paſſions and temper of mankind deeply pre-engaged in favour of this dark prince, we could never ſuffer ourſelves to accept of his favours, by the hands of ſuch contemptible agents as theſe: how do we receive his oracles from an old witch of particular eminence, and who we believe to be more than ordinarily inſpired from hell; I ſay, we receive the oracle with reverence; that is to ſay, with a kind of horror, with regard to the black prince it comes from; and, at the ſame time, turn our faces away from the wretch that mumbles out the anſwers, leſt ſhe ſhould caſt an evil eye, as we call it, upon us, and put a devil into us, when ſhe plays the Devil before us: how do we liſten to the cant of thoſe worſt of vagabonds the gypſies when at the ſame time, we watch our hedges and henroofts, for fear of their thieving!

Either the Devil uſes us more like fools than he did our anceſtors, or we really are worſe fools than thoſe ages produced: for they were never deluded by ſuch low priced Devils as we are; by ſuch deſpicable Bride-well devils, that are fitter for a whipping poſt than an altar, and, inſtead of being received as the voice of an oracle, ſhould be ſent to the houſe of correction for pick-pockets.

Nor is this accidental, and here and there one of theſe wretches to be ſeen; but in ſhort, if it has been in other nations as it is with us, I do not ſee that the Devil was able to get any better people, into his pay, or at leaſt very rarely: where have we ſeen any thing above a tinker turn wizard? And where have we had a witch of quality among us, mother J———gs excepted? and if ſhe had not been more of ſomething elſe than a witch, it was thought ſhe had never got ſo much money by her profeſſion.

Magicians, ſoothſayers, devil raiſers, and ſuch people, we have heard much of, but ſeldom above the degree of the meaneſt of the mean people, the loweſt of the loweſt rank: Indeed, the word wiſemen, which the Devil would fain have had his agents honoured with, was uſed a while in Egypt, and in Perſia, among the Chaldeans; but it continued but a little while and never reached ſo far northward as our country; nor, however the Devil has managed it, have many of

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our great men, who have been moſt acquainted with him, ever been able to acquire the title of wiſe men.

I have heard, that, in older times I ſuppoſe in good Queen Beſs's days or beyond (for little is to be ſaid here for any thing on this ſide of her time), there were ſome counſellors and ſtateſmen who merited the character of wiſe in the beſt ſenſe; that is to ſay, good and wiſe, as they ſtand in conjunction: but as to what has happened ſince that, or, as we call it, from that queen's funeral to the late Revolution, I have little to ſay; but I'll tell you what honeſt Andrew Marvel ſaid of thoſe times and by that you may, if you pleaſe, make your calculation, or let it alone, it is all one.

> "To ſee a white ſtaff-maker, a beggar, a lord,
> "And ſcarce a wiſeman at a long council board."

But I may be told this relates to wiſe men in another conſtitution, or wiſe men as they are oppoſed to fools: whereas we are talking of them now under another claſs, namely, as wiſemen, or magicians, ſoothſayers, &c. ſuch as were in former times called by that name.

But to this I anſwer, that, take them in which ſenſe you pleaſe, it may be the ſame; for if I were to aſk the Devil the character of the beſt ſtateſmen he had employed among us for many years paſt, I am apt to think, that, though oracles are ceaſed, he would honeſtly, according to the old ambiguous way when I aſked if they were Chriſtians, anſwer they were (his) privy councellors.

It is but a little while ago, that I happened (in converſation) to meet with a long liſt of the magiſtrates of that age, in a neighbouring country, that is to ſay, the men of fame among them: and it was a very diverting thing to ſee the judgment which was paſſed upon them among a great deal of good company; it is not for me to tell you how many white ſtaves, golden keys, marſhals batoons, cordone blue, cordon rough, and cordon blanc, there were among them; or by what titles, as dukes, counts, marquis, abbot, biſhop, or juſtices, they were to be diſtinguiſhed; but the marginal notes I found upon moſt of them were (being marked with an aſteriſm), as follows.

Such a duke, ſuch eminent offices added to his titles (*in the margin)——no ſaint

Such an arch——with the title of noble added,——no archangel.

Such an eminent ſtateſman, and prime miniſter,——no witch

Such

Such a ribband, with a ſet of great letters added,——no conjurer.

It preſently occurred to me, that though oracles were ceaſed and we had now no more double intendre in ſuch a degree as before, yet that ambiguous anſwers were not at an end: and that whether thoſe negatives were meant ſo by the writers, or not, it was certain cuſtom led the readers to conclude them to be ſatires, that they were to be rung backwards, like the bells when the town's on fire; though, in ſhort, I durſt not read them backward any where, but as ſpeaking of foreign people, for fear of raiſing the Devil I am talking of.

But to return to the ſubject; to ſuch mean things is the Devil now reduced, in his ordinary way of carrying on his buſineſs in the world, that his oracles are delivered, now by the bell man, and the chimney ſweepers, by the meaneſt of thoſe that ſpeak in the dark, and if he operates by them, you may expect it accordingly: his agents ſeems to me as if the Devil had ſingled them out, by their deformity, or that there was ſomething particular required in their aſpect, to qualify them for their employments; whence it is become proverbial, when our looks are very diſmal and frightful, to ſay, I look like a witch; or, in other caſes, to ſay, as ugly as a witch: in another caſe, to look as envious as a witch; now, whether there is any thing particularly required in the looks of the Devil's modern agent, which may aſſiſt them in the diſcharge of their offices, and which makes their anſwers appear more ſolemn this the Devil has not yet revealed, at leaſt not to me; and therefore, why it is that he ſingles out ſuch creatures as are fit only to fright the people that come to them with their enquiries, I do not take upon me to determine.

Perhaps it is neceſſary they ſhould be thus extraordinary in their aſpect, that they might ſtrike an awe into the minds of their votaries, as if they were Satan's true and real repreſentatives; and that the ſaid votaries may think, when they ſpok to the witches, they are really talking to the Devil: or perhaps it is neceſſary to the witches themſelves, that they ſhoul be ſo exquiſitely ugly, that they may not be ſurpriſed at whatever figure the Devil makes when he firſt appears to them being certain they can ſee nothing uglier than themſelves.

Some are of the opinion, that the communication with the Devil, or between the Devil and thoſe creatures, his agents has ſomething aſſimilating in it; and that if they were tolerable before, they are, ipſo facto, turned into devils by talkin

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with him; I will not ſay but that a tremor in the limbs, a horror in the aſpect, and a ſurpriſing ſtare in the eyes, may ſeize upon ſome of them, when they really ſee the Devil, and that the frequent repetition may make thoſe diſtortions, which we ſo conſtantly ſee in their faces, become natural to them; by which, if it does not continue always upon the countenance; they can, at leaſt, like the poſture maſters, caſt themſelves into ſuch figures, and frightful diſlocations of the lines and features in their faces and ſo aſſume a Devil's face, ſuitable to the occaſion, or as may ſerve the turn which they take it up, and as often as they have any uſe for it.

But be it which of theſe, the enquirer pleaſes, it is all one to the caſe in hand? this is certain, that ſuch deformed devil-like creatures, moſt of thoſe we call hags and witches, are diſagreeable in their ſhapes and aſpects; and that they give out their ſentences, and frightful meſſages, which an air of revenge for ſome injury received; for witches are famed chiefly for doing miſchief.

It ſeems the Devil has always picked out the moſt ugly and frightful old women to do his buſineſs: mother Shipton, our famous Engliſh witch, or propheteſs, is very much wronged in her picture, if ſhe was not of the moſt terrible aſpect imaginable; and if it be true that Merlin, the famous Welſh fortune-teller, was a frightful figure, it will ſeem the more rational to believe, if we credit another ſtory; viz. that he was begotten by the Devil himſelf, of which I ſhall ſpeak by itſelf: but to go back to the Devil's inſtruments being ſo ugly, it may be obſerved I ſay, that the Devil has always dealt in ſuch ſort of cattle: the Sibyls, of whom ſo many ſtrange prophetic things are recorded whether true or not, is not the queſtion, are (if the Italian painters may have any credit given them) all repreſented as very old women: as if uglineſs was a beauty to old age, they ſeem to paint them out as ugly and frightful as (not they, the painters but even as) the Devil himſelf could make them; not that I believe that there are any original pictures of them really extant; but it is not unlikely that the Italians might have ſome traditional knowledge of them, or ſome remaining notions of them, as particularly that ancient Sibyl, named Anus, who ſold the fatal book to Tarquin; it is ſaid of her, that Tarquin ſuppoſed ſhe doated with age.

I had thought indeed here to have entered into a learned diſquiſition of the excellency of old women in all diabolical

operations, and particularly of the neceſſity of having recourſe to them for Satan's more exquiſite adminiſtration; which alſo may ſerve to ſolve the great difficulty in the natural philoſophy of hell, namely, why it comes to paſs that the Devil is obliged, for want of old women, properly ſo called, to turn ſo many ancient fathers, grave counſellors both of law and ſtate, and eſpecially civilians, or doctors of the law, into old women; and how the extraordinary operations are performed: but this, as a thing of great conſequence in Satan's management of human affairs, and particularly as it may lead us into the neceſſary hiſtory, as well as characters, of ſome of the moſt eminent of theſe ſects among us; I have purpoſely reſerved for a work by itſelf, to be publiſhed, if Satan hinders not, in fifteen volumes in folio; wherein I ſhall, in the firſt place, define, in the moſt exact manner poſſible, what is to be underſtood by a male old woman, of what heterogeneous kind they are produced; give you the monſtrous anatomy of the parts, and eſpecially thoſe of the head; which, being filled with innumerable globules of a ſublime nature, and which being of a fine contexture without, but particularly hollow in the cavity, defines moſt philoſophically that ancient paradoxical ſaying, viz. being full of emptineſs; and makes it very conſiſtent with nature and common ſenſe.

I ſhall likewiſe ſpend ſome time, and it muſt be labour too, I aſſure you, when it is done, in determining whether this new ſpecies of wonderfuls are not derived from the famous old man Merlin, which I prove to be very reaſonable for us to ſuppoſe, becauſe of the many judicious authors, who affirm the ſaid Merlin, as I hinted before, to have been begotten by the Devil.

As to the deriving his gift of prophecy from the Devil, by that prevented generation, I ſhall omit that part, becauſe, as I have all along inſiſted upon it, that Satan himſelf has no prophetic or predicting powers of his own, it is not very clear to me, that he could convey it to his poſterity: Nil dat quod non habet.

However, in deriving this ſo much magnified prophet, in a right line from the Devil, much may be ſaid in favour of his ugly face, in which, it was ſaid, he was very remarkable; for it is no new thing for a child to be like the father; but all theſe weighty things I adjourn for the preſent, and proceed to the affair in hand, namely, the ſeveral branches of the Devil's management ſince his quitting his temples and oracles.

CHAP. VI.

Of the extraordinary appearance of the DEVIL, *and particularly of the cloven foot.*

SOME people would fain have us treat this tale of the Devil's appearing with a cloven foot, with more ſolemnity, than, I believe, the Devil himſelf does for Satan, who knows how much of a cheat it is, muſt certainly ridicule it, in his own thoughts, to the laſt degree; but as he is glad of any way to hoodwink the underſtandings, and bubble the weak part of the world; ſo if he ſees men willing to take every ſcarecrow for a Devil, it is not his buſineſs to undeceive them; on the other hand, if he finds it his intereſt to foſter the cheat, and ſerve himſelf of the conſequence; nor could I doubt but the Devil, if any mirth be allowed him, often laughs at the many frightful ſhapes and figures we dreſs him up in, and eſpecially to ſee how willing we are firſt to paint him as black, and make him appear as ugly as we can and then ſtare and ſtart at the ſpectre of our own making.

The truth is, that among all the horribles that we dreſs up Satan in, I cannot but think we ſhew the leaſt of invention in this of a goat, or a thing with a goat's foot, of all the reſt: for though a goat is a creature made uſe of by our Saviour, in the allegory of the day of judgment, and is ſaid there to repreſent the wicked, rejected party, yet it ſeems to be only on account of their ſimilitude to the ſheep, and ſo to repreſent the juſt fate of hypocriſy, and hypocrites; and, in particular, to form the neceſſary antitheſis in the ſtory: for elſe our whimſical fancies excepted, a ſheep or a lamb has a cloven foot, as well as a goat; nay, if the Scripture be of any value in this caſe, it is to the Devil's advantage; for the dividing the hoof was the diſtinguiſhed character or mark of a clean beaſt; and how the Devil can be brought into that number, is pretty hard to ſay.

One would have thought, if we had intended to have given a juſt figure of the Devil, it would have been more oppoſite to have ranked him among the cat kind, and given him a foot (if he is to be known by his foot) like a lion, or like a red dragon, being the ſame creatures which he is repreſented by in the text; and ſo his claws would have had ſome terror in them as well as his teeth.

But neither is the goat a true repreſentative of the Devil at all, for we do not rank the goats among the ſubtile or cun-

ning parts of the brutes; he is counted a fierce creature indeed of his kind, though nothing like thoſe other above mentioned; and he is emblematically uſed to repreſent a luſtful temper; but even that part does not fully ſerve to deſcribe the Devil, whoſe operation lies principally another way.

Beſides it is not the goat himſelf that is made uſe of, it is the cloven hoof only, and that ſo particularly, that the cloven foot of a ram, or a ſwine, or any other creature, may ſerve as well as a goat; only that hiſtory gives us ſome cauſe to call it the goat's foot.

In the the next place, it is underſtood by us not as a bare token to know Satan by, but as if it were a brand upon him; and that, like the mark God put upon Cain, it was given him for a puniſhment, ſo that he cannot get leave to appear without it, nay, cannot conceal it whatever other dreſs or diſguiſe he may put on; and, as if it was to make him as ridiculous as poſſible, they will have it, that, whenever Satan has occaſion to dreſs himſelf in any human ſhape, be it of what degree ſoever, from the king to the beggar, be it of a fine lady or of an old woman, (the latter, it ſeems, he oftenеſt aſſumes), yet ſtill he not only muſt have this cloven foot about him, but is obliged to ſhew it too; nay, they will not allow him any dreſs, whether it be a prince's robes, a lord cha——'s gown, or a ladie's hoop and long petticoat, but the cloven foot muſt be ſhewn from under them; they will not ſo much as allow him an artificial ſhoe or a jack boot as we often ſee contrived to conceal a club foot or a wooden leg; but that the Devil may be known wherever he goes, he is bound to ſhew his foot; they might as well oblige him to ſet a bill upon his cap, as folks do upon a houſe to be let, and have it written in capital letters, "I AM THE DEVIL."

It muſt be confeſſed this is very particular, and would be very hard upon the Devil, if it had not another article in it, which is ſome advantage to him; and that is, that the fact is not true: but the belief of this is ſo univerſal, that all the world runs away with it; by which miſtake the good people miſs the Devil many times where they look for him, and meet him as often where they did not expect him, and when, for want of this cloven foot they did not know him.

Upon this very account I have ſometimes thought, not that this has been put upon him by mere fancy, and the cheat of a heavy imagination propagated by fable and chimney corner divinity, but that it has been a contrivance of his own; and

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that in ſhort, the Devil raiſed the ſcandal upon himſelf that he might keep his diſguiſe the better, and might go a viſiting among his friends without being known, for were it really ſo, that he could go no where without this particular brand of infamy, he could not come into company, could not dine with my lord mayor, nor drink tea with the ladies; could not go to the drawing r—— at ——; could not have gone to Fountainbleau to the king of France's wedding, or to the diet of Poland, to prevent the grandees there coming to an agreement; nay, which would be ſtill worſe than all, he could not go to the maſquerade, nor to any of our balls; the reaſon is plain, he would be always diſcovered, expoſed, and forced to leave the good company, or, which would be as bad, the company would all cry out, the Devil! and run out of the room as they were frightened; nor could all the help of invention do him any ſervice; no dreſs he could put on would cover him; not all our friends at Taviſtock corner could furniſh him with a habit that would diſguiſe or conceal him; this unhappy foot would ſpoil all. Now this would be ſo great a loſs to him, that I queſtion whether he could carry on any of his moſt important affairs in the world without it; for though he has acceſs to mankind in his complete diſguiſe, I mean that of his inviſibility, yet the learned very much agree in this, that his corporeal preſence in the world is abſolutely neceſſary, upon many occaſions, to ſupport his intereſt, and keep up his correſpondences, and particularly to encourage his friends, when numbers are requiſite to carry on his affairs; but this part I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of again, when I come to conſider him as a gentleman of buſineſs in his locality, and under the head of viſible apparitions; but I return to the foot.

As I have thus ſuggeſted, that the Devil himſelf has politically ſpread about this notion concerning his appearing with a cloven foot, ſo I doubt not that he has thought it for his purpoſe to paint this cloven foot ſo lively in the imaginations of many of our people, and eſpecially of thoſe clear ſighted folks, who ſee the Devil when he is not to be ſeen, that they would make no ſcruple to ſay, nay, and to make affidavit too, even before Satan himſelf, whenever he ſat upon the bench, that they had ſeen his worſhip's foot at ſuch and ſuch a time. This I advance the rather, becauſe it is very much for his intereſt to do this; for if we had not many witneſſes, viva voice, to teſtify it, we ſhould have had ſome obſtinate fellows always among us who would have denied the fact, or at leaſt have

ſpoken doubtfully of it; and ſo have raiſed diſputes and objections againſt it, as impoſſible, or at leaſt improbable; buzzing one ridiculous notion or other into our ears, as if the Devil was not ſo black as he was painted,—that he had no more a cloven foot than a pope, whoſe apoſtolical toes have been ſo reverentially kiſſed by kings and emperors; but now, alas; this part is out of the queſtion: not the man in the moon, not the groaning board, nor the ſpeaking of Friar Bacon's brazen head,—nor the inſpiration of Mother Shipton, or the miracles of Dr Fauſtus, things as certain as death and taxes, can be more firmly believed. The Devil not have a cloven foot! I doubt not but I could, in a ſhort time, bring a thouſand old women together, that would as ſoon believe there was no Devil at all; nay, they will tell you he could not be a Devil without it, any more than he could come into the room, and the candles not turn blue; or go out, and not leave a ſmell of brimſtone behind him.

Since then, the certainty of the thing is ſo well eſtabliſhed, and there are ſo many good and ſubſtantial witneſſes ready to teſtify that he has a cloven foot, and that they have ſeen it too; nay, and that we have antiquity on our ſide, (for we have this truth confirmed by the teſtimony of many ages), why ſhould we doubt it any longer? We can prove that many of our anceſtors have been of this opinion; and divers learned authors have left it upon record, as particularly that learned familiariſt Mother Hazel, whoſe writings are to be found in manuſcript, in the famous library of Pye-Corner; alſo the admired Joan of Ameſbury, the hiſtory of the Lancaſhire witches, and the reverend exorciſt of the Devils of London, whoſe hiſtory is extant among us to this day. All theſe, and many more, may be quoted, and their writings referred to, for the confirmation of the antiquity of this truth; but there ſeems to be no occaſion for farther evidence, it is enough; Satan himſelf, if he did not raiſe the report, yet tacitly owns the fact, at leaſt he appears willing to have it believed, and be received as a general truth, for the reaſons above.

But beſides all this, and as much a jeſt as ſome unbelieving people would have this ſtory to paſs for, who knows but that if Satan is impowered to aſſume any ſhape or body, and to appear to us as if really ſo ſhaped: I ſay, who knows but he may, by the ſame authority, be allowed to aſſume the addition of the cloven foot, or two or four cloven feet, if he pleaſed? And why not a cloven foot as well as any other foot, if he thinks

thinks fit? For if the Devil can aſſume a ſhape, and can appear to mankind in a viſible form, it may, I doubt not, with as good authority be advanced, that he is left at liberty to aſſume what ſhape he pleaſes, and to chuſe what caſe of fleſh and blood he will pleaſe to wear, whether real or imaginary; and if this liberty be allowed him it is an admirable diſguiſe for him to come generally with his cloven foot, that when he finds it for his purpoſe, on ſpecial occaſions, to come without it, as I ſaid above, he may not be ſuſpected; but take this with you, as you go, that all this is upon ſuppoſition that the Devil can aſſume a viſible ſhape, and make a real appearance; which, however, I do not think fit to grant or deny.

Certain it is, the firſt people, who beſtowed a cloven foot upon the Devil, were not ſo deſpicable as you may imagine, but were real favourites of heaven; for did not Aaron ſet up the Devil of a calf in the congregation, and ſet the people a dancing about it for a god? Upon which occaſion expoſitors tell us, that particular command was given, Lev. xvii. "They ſhall no more offer their ſacrifices unto Devils, after whom they have gone a-whoring." Likewiſe King Jeroboam ſet up the two calves, one at Dan, and the other at Bethel; and we find them charged afterwards with the ſetting up the worſhip of devils, inſtead of the worſhip of God.

After this, we find ſome nations actually ſacrificed to the Devil in the form of a ram, and others of a goat; from which, and that above of the calves at Horeb, I doubt not the ſtory of the cloven foot firſt derived; and it is plain, that the worſhip of that calf at Horeb, is meant in the Scripture, quoted above, Lev. xvii. 7. "Thou ſhalt no more offer ſacrifice unto devils." The original is ſeghnirim, that is, rough and hairy goats, or calves; and ſome think alſo, in this ſhape the Devil moſt ordinarily appeared to the Egyptians and Arabians, from whence it was derived.

Alſo in the old writings of the Egyptians, I mean their hieroglyphic writings, before the uſe of letters was known, we are told this was the mark that he was known by; and the figure of the goat was the hieroglyphic of the Devil, ſome will affirm, that the Devil was particularly pleaſed to be ſo repreſented. How they came by their information, and whether they had it from his own mouth or not, authors have not yet determined.

But be this as it will, I do not ſee that Satan could have been at a loſs for ſome extraordinary figure to have bantered mankind

mankind with, though this had not been thought of; but thinking of the cloven foot firſt, and the matter being indifferent, this took place, and eaſily rooted itſelf in the bewildered fancy of the people; and now it is rivetted too faſt for the devil himſelf to remove it, if he was diſpoſed to try; but as I ſaid above, it is none of his buſineſs to ſolve doubts, or remove difficulties out of our heads, but to perplex us with more, as much as he can.

Some people carry this matter a great deal higher ſtill, and will have the cloven foot to be like the great ſtone which the Braſilian conjurers uſed to ſolve all difficult queſtions upon, after having uſed a great many monſtrous and barbarous geſtures and diſtortions of their bodies, and cut certain marks or magical figures upon the ſtone: ſo, I ſay, they will have this cloven foot to be a kind of conjuring ſtone; and tell us, that in former times, when Satan drove a greater trade with mankind in public than he has done of late, he gave this cloven foot as a token to his particular favourites to work wonders with, and to conjure by; and that witches, fairies, hobgoblins, and ſuch things, of which the ancients have ſeveral kinds, at leaſt in their imaginations, had all a goat's leg, with a cloven foot, to put on upon extraordinary occaſions. It ſeems this method is of late grown out of practice; and ſo, like the melting of marble, and the painting of glaſs, it is laid aſide, among the various uſeful arts which hiſtorians tell us are loſt to the world. What may be practiſed in the fairy world, if ſuch a place there be, we can give no particulars at preſent.

But neither is this all; for other would be-wiſe people take upon them to make farther and more conſiderable improvements upon this doctrine of the cloven foot, and treat it as a moſt ſignificant inſtrument of Satan's private operation; and that as Joſeph is ſaid to divine, that is to ſay, to conjure by his golden cup, which was put into Benjamin's ſack, ſo the Devil has managed ſeveral of his ſecret operations and poſſeſſions, and other helliſh mechaniſms, upon the ſpirits as well as the bodies of men, by the medium or inſtrumentality of the cloven foot. Accordingly it had a kind of an helliſh inſpiration in it, and a ſeparate and magical power, by which he wrought his infernal miracles: that the cloven foot had a ſuperior ſignification, and was not only emblematic and ſignificative of the conduct of men, but realy guided their conduct in the moſt important affairs of life; and that the agents the Devil employed to influence mankind, and to delude them, and

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draw them into all the ſnares and traps, that he lays continually for their deſtruction, were equiped with this foot, in aid of their other power for miſchief.

Here they read us learned lectures upon the ſovereign operations which the Devil is at preſent maſter of, in the government of human affairs; and how the cloven foot is an emblem of the true double entendre, or divided aſpect, which the great men of the world generally act with, and by which all their affairs are directed; from whence it comes to paſs, that there is no ſuch thing as a ſingle hearted integrity, or an upright meaning to be found in the world; that mankind, worſe than the ravenous brutes, prey upon their own kind, and devour them all by the laudible methods of flattery, wine, cheat, and treachery; crocodile like, weeping over thoſe they would devour,—deſtroying thoſe they ſmile upon; and, in a word, devour their own kind, which the beaſts refuſe, and that by the ways of fraud and allurement that hell can invent; holding out a cloven divided hoof, or hand, pretending to ſave, when the very pretence is made uſe of to enſnare and deſtroy.

Thus the divided hoof is the repreſentative of a divided double tongue; and an emblem of the moſt exquiſite hypocriſy, the moſt fawning and fatally-deceiving flattery; And here they give us very diverting hiſtories, though tragical in themſelves, of the manner in which ſome of the Devils inſpired agents having managed themſelves, under the ſpecial influence of the cloven foot; how they have made war under the pretence of peace; murdered garriſons under the moſt ſacred capitulations; maſſacred innocent multitudes after ſurrenders to mercy.

Again they tell us, the cloven foot has been made uſe of in all treaſons, plots, aſſaſſinations, and ſecret as well as open murders and rebellions. Thus Joab, under the treaſon of embrace, ſhewed how dextrouſly he could manage the cloven foot and ſtruck Abner under the fifth rib: thus David played the cloven foot with poor Uriah, when he had a mind to lie with his wife: thus Brutus played it upon Cæſar; and to come nearer home we have had a great many retrogade motions in this country, by this magical implement, the foot; ſuch as that of the Earl of Eſſex's fate, beheading the Queen of Scots, and divers others in Queen Elizabeth's time: that of the Earl of Shrewſbury and Sir Thomas Overbury, Gondamor and Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others, in King James the Firſt's time, in all which, if the cloven foot had not been dextrouſly managed,

managed, thoſe murders had not been ſo dextrouſly performed, or the murderers have been ſo well ſcreened from juſtice; for which, and the impricated vengeance of heaven unappeaſed, ſome have thought the innocent branches of the royal houſe of Stuart did not fare the better in the ages which followed.

It muſt be confeſſed, the cloven foot was in its full exerciſe in the next reign, and the generation that roſe up immediately after them, arrived to the moſt exquiſite ſkill for management of it. Here they faſted and prayed; there they plundered and murdered; here they raiſed war for the king, and there they fought againſt him; cutting throats for God's ſake and depoſing both king and kingly government, according to law.

Nor was the cloven foot unemployed on all ſides; for it is the main excellency of this inſtrument to hell, that it acts on every ſide; it is its denominating quality, and is, for that reaſon, called a cloven or divided hoof.

This mutilated apparition has been ſo public in other countries too, that it ſeems to convince us the Devil is not confined to England only; but that, as his empire extends to all the ſublunary world, ſo he gives them all room to ſee he is qualified to manage them his own way

What abundant uſe did that prince of diſſemblers, Charles V. make of this foot? It was by the help of this apparition of the foot that he baited his hook with the city of Milan, and tickled Francis I. of France ſo well with it, that when he paſſed through France, and was in that king's power, he let him go, and never got the bait off the hook neither. It ſeems the foot was not on king Francis's at that time.

How cruelly did Philip II. of Spain manage this foot in the murder of the nobility of the Spaniſh Netherlands, the aſſaſſination of the prince of Orange, and at laſt in that of his own ſon Don Carlos, infant of Spain? And yet ſuch was the Devil's craft, and ſo nicely did he beſtir his cloven foot, that this monarch died conſolated (though impenitent) in the arms of the church, and with the benediction of the clergy too, theſe ſecond beſt managers of the ſaid hoof in the world.

I muſt acknowledge I agree with this opinion thus far, namely, that the Devil, acting by his cloven foot as a machine, has done great things in the world, for propagating his dark empire among us; and hiſtory is full of examples, beſides the little low priced things done among us; for we are come to ſuch a kind of degeneracy in folly, that we have even diſhonoured the

the Devil, and put this glorious engine, the cloven foot, to ſuch mean uſes that the Devil himſelf ſeems to be aſhamed of us.

But to return a little to foreign hiſtory; Beſides what has been mentioned above, we find flaming examples of moſt glorious miſchief done by this weapon, when put into the hands of kings, and men of fame in the world. How many games have the kings of France played with this cloven foot, and that within a few years of one another? Firſt, Charles IX. played the cloven foot upon Graſper Coligni, admiral of France when he carreſſed him, complimented him, invited him to Paris to the wedding of the king of Navarre; called him father, kiſſed him, when he was wounded, ſent his two ſurgeons to take care of him; and yet, three days after, ordered him to be aſſaſſinated and murdered, uſed with a thouſand indignities, and at laſt thrown out of the window into the ſtreet, to be inſulted by the rabble?

Did not Henry III in the ſame country, play the cloven foot upon the Duke of Guiſe, when he called him to the counſel, and cauſed him to be murdered as he went in at the door? The Guiſes again played the ſame game upon the king, when they ſent out a Jacobin friar to aſſaſſinate him in his tent, as he lay at the ſiege of Paris.

In a word this opera of the cloven foot has been acted all over the Chriſtian world, ever ſince Judas betrayed the Son of God with a kiſs; nay, our Saviour ſays expreſsly of him, "One of you is a devil;" and the ſacred text ſays, in another place "The Devil entered into Judas."

It would take up a great deal of time, and paper too, to give you a full account of the travels of the cloven foot, its progreſs into all the courts of Europe, and with what moſt accurate hypocriſy Satan has made uſe of it upon many occaſions, and with what ſucceſs; but, as in the elaborate work of which I juſt now gave you a ſpecimen, I deſign one whole volume upon this ſubject, and which I ſhall call, The complete hiſtory of the cloven foot: I ſay, for that reaſon, and divers others, I ſhall ſay but very little more to it in this place.

It remains to tell you, that this merry ſtory of the cloven foot is very eſſential to the hiſtory which I am now writing, as it has been all along the great emblem of the Devil's government in the world, and by which all his moſt conſiderable engagements have been anſwered and executed; for as he is

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ſaid not to be able to conceal this foot, but that he carries it always with him, it imports moſt plainly, that the Devil would be no devil, if he was not a diſſembler, a deceiver, and carried a double of entendre in all he does or ſays: that he cannot but ſay one thing and mean another; promiſe one thing and do another; engage, and not perform; declare, and not intend; and act like a true Devil as he is, with a countenance, that is no index of his heart.

I might indeed go back to originals, and derive this cloven foot from Satan's primitive ſtate as a cherubim or a celeſtial being; which cherubims, as Moſes is ſaid to have ſeen them about the throne of God in mount Sinai, and as the ſame Moſes, from the original, repreſented them afterwards covering the ark, had the head and face of a man, wings of an eagle, body of a lion, and legs and feet of a calf! But this is not ſo much to our preſent purpoſe; for as we are to allow, that whatever Satan had of heavenly beauty before he fell, he loſt it all when he commenced Devil; ſo to fetch his original ſo far up, would be only to ſay, that he retained nothing but the cloven foot; and that all the reſt of him was altered and deformed, become horrible and frightful as the Devil: but this cloven foot as we now underſtand it, is rather myſtical and emblematic, and deſcribes him only as the foundation of miſchief and treaſon, and the prince of hypocrites, and as ſuch we are now to ſpeak of him.

It is from this original all the hypocritic world copy. He wears the foot on their account, and from this model they act. This made our bleſſed Saviour tell them, "The works of our father he will do;" meaning the Devil, as he had expreſſed it juſt before.

Nor does he deny the uſe of the foot to the meaner claſs of his diſciples in the world, but decently equips them all, upon every occaſion, with a needful proportion of hypocriſy and deceit, that they may hand on the power of promiſcuous fraud through all his temporal dominions, and wear the foot always about them, as a badge of their profeſſed ſhare in whatever is done by that means.

Thus every diſſembler, every falſe friend, every ſecret cheat, every bear-ſkin jobber, has a cloven foot, and ſo far hands on the Devil's intereſt by the ſame powerful agency of art, as the Devil himſelf uſes to act when he appears in perſon, or would act if he was juſt now upon the ſpot; for this foot is a machine which is to be wound up or wound down, as the

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cauſe it appears for requires; and there are agents and engineers to act in it by directions of Satan (the grand engineer) who lies ſtill in his retirement, only, iſſuing out his orders as he ſees convenient.

Again: Every claſs, every trade, every ſhopkeeper, every pedlar, nay, that meaneſt of tradeſmen, the church-pedlar the Pope, has a cloven foot, with which he paw-waws upon the world; wiſhes them all well and at the ſame time cheats them; wiſhes them all fed, and at the ſame time ſtarves them, wiſhes them all in heaven, and at the ſame time marches before them directly to the Devil, a la mode de cloven foot.

Nay, the very bench, the ever-living foundation of juſtice in the world, how often has it been made the tool of violence, the refuge of oppreſſion, the ſeat of bribery and corruption, by this monſter in maſquerade, and that every where, (our own country always excepted)! They had much better wipe out the picture of juſtice blinded, having the ſword and ſcales in her hand, which in foreign countries is generally painted over the ſeat of thoſe who ſit to do juſtice, and place, inſtead thereof, a naked unarmed cloven foot, a proper emblem of that ſpirit that influences the world, and of the juſtice we often ſee adminiſtered among them. Human imagination cannot form an idea more ſuitable, nor the Devil propoſe an engine more or better qualified for an operation of juſtice, by the influence of bribery and corruption. It is this magnipotent inſtrument in the hands of the Devil, which, under the cloſeſt diſguiſe, agitates every paſſion, bribes every affection, blackens every virtue, gives a double face to words and actions, and to all perſons who have any concern in them, and, in a word, makes us all devils to one another.

Indeed the Devil has taken but a dark emblem to be diſtinguiſhed by; for this of a goat was ſaid to be a creature hated by mankind from the begining, and that there is a natural antipathy in mankind againſt them; hence the ſcape goat was to bear the ſins of the people, and to go into the wilderneſs with all that burden upon him.

But we have a ſaying among us, in defence of which we muſt inquire into the proper ſphere of action which may be aſſigned to this cloven foot, as hitherto deſcribed; the proverb is this, Every Devil has not a cloven foot. This proverb, inſtead of giving us ſome more favourable thoughts of the Devil, confirms what I have ſaid already, that the devil raiſed this ſcandal upon himſelf; I mean the report that he can-

not conceal or diſguiſe his Devil's foot, or hoof, but that it muſt appear, under whatever habit he ſhews himſelf; and the reaſon I gave holds good ſtill; namely, that he may be more effectually concealed when he goes abroad without it: for if the people were fully perſuaded that the Devil could not appear without this badge of his honour, or mark of his infamy, take it as you will: and that he was bound alſo to ſhew it upon all occaſions: it would be natural to conclude that whatever frightful appearances might be ſeen in the world, if the cloven foot did not alſo appear, we had no occaſion to look for the Devil, or ſo much as to think of him, much leſs to apprehend he was ſo near us: and as this might be a miſtake, and that the Devil might be there while we thought ourſelves ſecure, it might on many occaſions be a miſtake of very bad conſequence; and in particular it would give the Devil room to act in the dark, and not be diſcovered, where it might be moſt needful to know him.

From this ſhort hint, thus repeated, I draw a new theſis; namely, that the Devil is moſt dangerous that has no cloven foot; or if you will have it in words more to the common underſtanding. The Devil ſeems to be moſt dangerous when he goes without his cloven foot.

And here a learned ſpeculation offers itſelf to our debate, and which indeed I ought to call a counſel of caſuiſts, and men learned in the Devil's politics, to determine.

Whether it is moſt hurtful to the world, the Devil walking about without his cloven foot, or the cloven foot walking about without the Devil?

It is indeed a nice and difficult queſtion, and merits to be well inquired into: for which reaſon, and divers others, I have referred it to be treated with ſome decency, and as a diſpute of dignity, ſufficient to take up a chapter by itſelf.

CHAP. VII.

Whether it is moſt hurtful to the world, the Devil walking about without his cloven foot, or the cloven foot walking about without the Devil.

IN diſcuſſing this moſt critical diſtinction of Satan's private motions, I muſt, as the pulpit-gentlemen direct us, explain the text, and let you know what I mean by ſeveral dark expreſſions

preſſions in it, that I may not be underſtood to talk (as the Devil walks) in the dark.

1. As to the Devil walking about.
2. His walking without his cloven foot.
3. The cloven foot walking about without the Devil.

Now, as I ſtudy brevity, and yet would be underſtood too, you may pleaſe to underſtand me as I underſtand myſelf, thus:

1. That I muſt be allowed to ſuppoſe the Devil really has an intercourſe in, and through, and about this globe, with egreſs and regreſs, for the carrying on his ſpecial affairs, when how, and where, to his majeſty, in his great wiſdom, it ſhall ſeem meet: that ſometimes he appears and becomes viſible, and that, like a maſtiff without his clog, he does not always carry his cloven foot with him. This will neceſſarily bring me to ſome debate upon the moſt important queſtion of apparitions, hauntings, walkings, &c. whether of Satan in human ſhape, or of human creatures in the Devil's ſhape or in any other manner whatſoever.

2. I muſt alſo be allowed to tell you, that Satan has a great deal of wrong done him by the general embracing of vulgar errors, and that there is a cloven foot often times without a Devil; or, in ſhort that Satan is not guilty of all the ſimple things, no, nor of all the wicked things we charge him with.

Theſe two heads, well ſettled, will fully explain the title of this chapter, anſwer the query mentioned in it, and at the ſame time correſpond well with, give us a farther proſpect into the main and original deſign of this work; namely, the hiſtory of the Devil. We are ſo fond of, and pleaſed with the general notion of ſeeing the Devil, that I am loth to diſoblige my readers ſo much as the calling in queſtion his viſibility would do. Nor is it my buſineſs, any more than it is his, to undeceive them, where the belief is ſo agreeable to them; eſpecially ſince upon the whole, it is not one farthing matter, either on one ſide or on the other, whether it be ſo or not, or whether the truth of the fact be ever diſcovered or not.

Certain it is, whether we ſee him or not, here he is, and I make no doubt but he is looking on while I am writing this part of his ſtory, whether behind me, or at my elbow, or over my ſhoulder, is not material to me, nor have I once turned my head about to ſee whether he is there or not; for if he be not

in the inside, I have so mean an opinion of all his extravasated powers, that it seems of very little consequence to me what shape he takes up, or in what posture he appears; nor indeed can I find in all my inquiry, that ever the Devil appeared (qua Devil) in any of the most dangerous or important of his designs in the world; the most of his projects, especially of the significant part of them, having been carried on another way.

However, as I am satisfied no body will be pleased if I should dispute the reality of his appearance, and as the world runs away with it as a received point, which admits of no dispute, I shall most readily grant the general and give you some account of the particulars.

History is fruitful of particulars, whether invention has supplied them or not, I will not say where the Devil is brought upon the Stage in plain and undeniable apparition: the story of Samuel being raised by the witch of Endor, I shall leave quite out my list, because there are so many scruples and objections against that story; and as I shall not dispute with the Scripture, so on the other hand, I have so much deference for the dignity of the Devil, as not to determine rashly how far it may be in the power of every old (witch) woman, to call him up whenever she pleases, and that he must come, whatever the pretence is, or whatever business of consequence he may be engaged in, as often as it is needful for her to paw wa for half a crown, or perhaps less then half the money.

Nor will I undertake to tell you, till I have talked farther with him about it, how far the Devil is concerned to discover frauds, detect murders, reveal secrets and especially to tell where any money is hid, and shew folks where to find it; it is an odd thing that Satan should think it of consequence to come and tell us where such a miser hid a strong box, or where such an old woman buried her chamber pot full of money, the value of all which is perhaps but a trifle, when at the same time he sets so many veins of gold, so many unexhausted mines, nay, mountains of silver, as we may depend upon it, are hid in the bowels of the earth, and which it would be so much to the good of whole nations to discover, lie still there, and never say one word of them to any body. Besides, how does the Devil's doing things so foreign to himself, and so out of his way, agree with the rest of his character; namely, shewing a kind of a friendly disposition to mankind, or doing beneficent things; This is so beneath Satan's quality and looks so little that I scarce know what to say to it; but that which is still more pungent in the case

caſe is, theſe things are ſo out of his road, and ſo foreign to his calling, that it ſhocks our faith in them, and ſeems to claſh with all the juſt notions we have of him, and of his buſineſs in the world. The like is to be ſaid of thoſe little merry turns we bring him in acting with us, and upon us, upon trifling and ſimple occaſions ſuch as tumbling chairs and ſtools about the houſe, ſetting pots and veſſels bottom upward, toſſing the glaſs and crookery ware about, without breaking; and ſuch like mean fooliſh things, beneath the dignity of the Devil, who, in my opinion, is rather employed in ſetting the world with the bottom upward, tumbling kings and crowns about and daſhing the nations one againſt another, raiſing tempeſts and ſtorms, whether at ſea or on ſhore; and in a word, doing capital miſchiefs ſuitable to his nature and agreeable to his name Devil; and ſuited to that circumſtance of his condition, which I have fully repreſented in the primitive part of his exiled ſtate.

But to bring in the Devil playing at puſh-pin with the world, or like Domitian catching flies; that is to ſay, doing nothing to the purpoſe; that is not only deluding ourſelves, but putting a ſlur upon the Devil himſelf; and I ſay I ſhall not diſhonour Satan ſo much as to ſuppoſe any thing in it: however as I muſt have a care too how I take away the proper materials of winter-evening frippery, and leave the good wives nothing of thee Devil to fright the children with, I ſhall carry the weighty point no further. No doubt the Devil and Dr Fauſtus were very intimate I ſhould rob you of a very ſignificent*proverb, if I ſhould ſo much as doubt it; no doubt the Devil ſhewed himſelf in the glaſs to that fair lady who looked in to ſee where to place her patches; but then it ſhould follow too, that the Devil is an enemy to the ladies wearing patches; and that has ſome difficulties in it, which we cannot ſo eaſily reconcile; but we muſt tell the ſtory, and leave out the conſequences.

But to come to more remarkable things, and in which the Devil has thought fit to act in a figure more ſuitable to his dignity, and on occaſions conſiſtent with himſelf; take the ſtory of the appearance of Julius Cæſar, or the Devil aſſuming that murderd emperor, to the great Marcus Brutus, who notwithſtanding all the good things ſaid to juſtify it, was no leſs then a king-killer and an aſſaſſinator, which we in our language call by a very good name, and peculiar to the Engliſh tongue, a ruffian.

* As great as the Devil and Dr. Faustus. Vulg. Dr. Foster.

The ſpectre had certainly the appearance of Cæſar, with his wounds bleeding freſh, as if he had juſt received the fatal blow; he had reproached him with his ingratitude, with Tu Brute! tu quoque, mi filli; "What thou Brutus! thou, my adopted ſon:" Now hiſtory ſeems to agree univerſally, not only in the ſtory itſelf, but in the circumſtances of it; we have only to obſerve that the Devil had certainly power to aſſume, not a human ſhape only, but the ſhape of Julius Cæſar, in particular.

Had Brutus been a timorous, conſcience-haried, weakheaded wretch, had he been under the horror of the guilt, and terrified with the dangers that were before him at that time, we might ſuggeſt that he was over run with the vapours, that the terrors which were upon his mind diſordered him, that his head was delirious and prepoſſeſſed, and that his fancy only placed Cæſar ſo continualy in his eyes, that it realized him to his imagination, and believed he ſaw him; with many other ſuggeſted difficulties to invalidate the ſtory, and render the reality of it doubtful.

But the contrary, to an extreme, was the caſe of Brutus; his known character placed him above the power of all hypocondriacs, or fanciful deluſions; Brutus was of a true Roman ſpirit, a bold hero, of an intrepid courage; one that ſcorned to fear even the Devil, as the ſtory allows: beſides, he gloried in the action; there could be no terror of mind upon him; he valued himſelf upon it, as done in the ſervice of liberty, and the cauſe of his country; and was ſo far from being frighted at the Devil in the worſt ſhape, that he ſpoke firſt to him and aſked him, What art thou? And when he was cited to ſee him again at Philipi, anſwered, with a galantry that knew no fear, Well I will ſee thee there. Whatever the Devil's buſineſs was with Brutus, this is certain, according to all the hiſtorians, who give us the account of it, that Brutus diſcovered no fear; he did not, like Saul at Endor, fall to the ground in a ſwoon, 1 Sam. xxviii. 20. "Then Saul fell along upon the earth, and there was no ſtrength in him, and was ſore afraid." In a word, I ſee no room to charge Brutus with being over-run with the hypo, or with the vapours, or with fright and terror of mind; but he ſaw the Devil that is certain, and with eyes open, his courage not all daunted, his mind reſolute, and with the utmoſt compoſure ſpoke to him, replied to his anſwer, and defied his ſummons to death, which indeed he feared not, as appeared afterwards.

I come next to an inſtance as eminent in hiſtory as the

other; this was in Charles VI. of France, ſurnamed The beloved; who riding over the foreſt near Mans, a ghaſtly frightful fellow (that is to ſay, the Devil ſo clothed in human vizor) came up to his horſe and taking hold of his bridle, ſtopt him, with addition of theſe words, "Stop, king; whither go you: You are betrayed!" and immediately diſappeared. It is true the king had been diſtempered in his head before, and ſo he might have been deceived; and we might have charged it to the account of a whimſical brain, or the power of his imaginations; but this was in the face of his attendants, ſeveral of his great officer, courtiers, and princes of the blood, being with him, who all ſaw the man, heard the words, and immediately, to their aſtoniſhment, loſt ſight of the ſpectre, who vaniſhed from them all.

Two witneſſes will convict a murderer, why not a traitor? This muſt be the old gentleman, emblematically ſo called, or who muſt it be? nay, who elſe could it be? His uglineſs is not the caſe, though ugly as the Devil, is a proverb in his favour; but vanishing out of ſight, is an eſſential to a ſpirit, and to an evil ſpirit in our times eſpecially.

Theſe are ſome of the Devil's extraordinaries, and it muſt be confeſſed they are not the moſt agreeable to mankind; for ſometimes he takes upon him to disorder his friends very much on theſe occaſions, as in the above caſe of Charles VI. of France; the king they ſaw was really demented ever after, that is, as we vulgarly, but not always improperly, expreſs it, he was really frightened out of his wits. Whether the malicious Devil intended it ſo or not, is not certain, though it was not ſo foreign to his particular diſpoſition if he did.

But where he is more intimate, we are told he appears in a manner leſs diſagreeable, and there he is more properly a familiar ſpirit, that is, in ſhort, a Devil of their acquaintance; it is true the ancients underſtand the word, a familier ſpirit, to be one of the kinds of poſſeſſion; but if it ſerves our turn as well under the denomination of an intimate Devil, or a devil viſitant, it muſt be acknowledged to be as near in the literal ſenſe and acceptation of the word, as the other; nay, it muſt be allowed it is a very great piece of familiarity in the Devil to make viſits, and ſhew none of his diſagreeables, not appear formidable, or in the ſhape of what he is, reſpectfully withholding his diſmal part, in compaſſion to the infirmities of his friends.

It is true Satan may be obliged to make different appearances

ances as the ſeveral circumſtances of things call for it; in ſome caſes he makes his public entry, and then he muſt ſhew himſelf in his habit of ceremony: in other caſes he comes upon private buſineſs, and then he appears in diſguiſe; in ſome public caſes he may think fit to be incog, and then he appears dreſſed ala maſque; ſo they ſay he appeared at the famous St Bartholomew wedding at Paris, where he came in dreſſed like a trumpeter, danced in his habit, ſounded a levit, and then went out and rung the alarm bell (which was the ſignal to begin the maſſacre) half an hour before the time appointed, leſt the king's mind ſhould alter, and his heart fail him.

If this ſtory be not made upon him (for we ſhould not ſlander the Devil), it ſhould ſeem, he was not thoroughly ſatisfied in king Charles IX's ſteadineſs in his cauſe; for the king, it ſeems had relaxed a little once before; and Satan, might be afraid he would fall off again and ſo prevent the execution. Others ſay, the king did relent immediately after the ringing the alarm bell; but that then it was too late; the work was begun, and the rage of blood having being let looſe among the people, there was no recalling the order. If the Devil was thus brought to the neceſſity of a ſecret management, it muſt be owned he did it dextrouſly; but I have not authority enough for the ſtory to charge him with the particulars, ſo I leave it au croc.

I have much better vouchers for the ſtory following, which I had ſo ſolemnly confirmed by one that lived in the family, that I never doubted the truth of it. There lived in the pariſh of St. Bennet Fynk, near the Royal Exchange, an honeſt poor widow women who her huſband being lately dead, took lodgers into her houſe; that is, ſhe let out ſome of her rooms, in order to leſſen her own charge of rent; among the reſt ſhe let out her garrets to a working watch-wheel-maker, or one ſome way concerned in making the movements of watches and who worked for thoſe ſhop-keepers who ſell watches as is uſual.

It happened that a man and woman went up to ſpeak with this movement-maker upon ſome buſineſs which related to his trade, and when they were near the top of the ſtairs the garret-door where he uſually worked being wide open, they ſaw the poor man (the watch maker, or wheel maker) had hanged himſelf upon a beam which was left open in the room, a little lower than the plaiſter, or cealing; ſurprized at the ſight, the woman ſtopped, and cried out to the man who was behind

her

her on the ſtairs, that he ſhould run up and cut the poor creature down.

At that very moment comes a man haſtily from another part of the room, which they upon the ſtairs could not ſee, bringing a joint-ſtool in his hand, as if in great haſte, and ſets it down juſt by the wretch that was hanged; and getting up as haſtily upon it, pulls a knife out of his pocket, and, taking hold of the rope with one of his hands, beckoned to the woman and the man behind her with his head, as if to ſtop and not come up, ſhewing them the knife in his other hand, as if he was juſt going to cut the poor man down.

Upon this, the woman ſtopt a while, but the man who ſtood on the joint ſtool continued with his hand and knife as if fumbling at the knot, but did not yet cut the man down; at which the woman cried out again, and, the man behind her called to her, Go up, ſays he, and, help the man upon the ſtool? ſuppoſing ſomething hindred. But the man upon the ſtool made ſigns to them again to be quiet, and not come on, as if ſaying, I ſhall do it immediately; then he made two ſtrokes with his knife, as if cutting the rope, and then ſtopt again; and ſtill the poor man was hanging, and conſequently dying: Upon this, the woman upon the ſtairs cried out to him what ails you? Why do you not cut the poor man down? And the man behind her having no more patience, thruſts her by, and ſaid to her, Let me come, I'll warrant you I'll do it; and with that runs up and forward into the room to the man; but when he came there, behold, the poor man was there hanging; but no man with a knife, or joint ſtool, or any ſuch thing to be ſeen, all that was ſpectre and deluſion, in order, no doubt, to let the poor creature, that had hanged himſelf, periſh and expire.

The man was ſo frightened and ſurpriſed, that with all the courage he had before, he dropt on the floor as one dead; and the woman at laſt was fain to cut the poor man down with a pair of ſciſſars, and had much to do to effect it.

As I have no room to doubt the truth of this ſtory which I had from perſons on whoſe honeſty I could depend, ſo I think it needs very little trouble to convince us who the man upon the ſtool muſt be, and that it was the Devil who placed himſelf there, in order to finiſh the murder of the man, whom he had, devil like, tempted before, and prevailed with to be his own executioner. Beſides, it correſponds ſo well with the Devil's nature and with his buſineſs, viz. that of a murderer, that I never queſtioned it: nor can I think we wrong the Devil at all to charge him with it.

N. B. I cannot be poſitive in the remaining part of this ſtory; viz. whether the man was cut down ſoon enough to be recovered, or whether the Devil carried his point, and kept off the man and woman till it was too late; but be it which it will, it is plain he did his deviliſh endeavour, and ſtaid till he was forced to abſcond.

We have many ſolid tales, well atteſted as well in hiſtory as in the reports of honeſt people, who could not be deceived, intimating the Devil's perſonal appearance, ſome in one place, ſome in another; as alſo ſometimes in one habit of dreſs, and ſometimes in another; and it is to be obſerved, that in none of thoſe which are moſt like to be real, and in which there is leaſt of fancy and vapour, you have any mention of the cloven foot; which rather ſeems to be a mere invention of man (and perhaps chiefly of thoſe who had a cloven underſtanding, I mean a ſhallow kind of craft, the effect of an empty and ſimple head), thinking by ſuch a well meant, though weak fraud, to repreſent the Devil to the old women and children of the age, with ſome addition ſuitable to the weakneſs of their intellects, and ſuited to the making them afraid of him.

I have another account of a perſon who travelled upwards of four years with the Devil in his company, and converſed moſt intimately with him all the while; nay, if I may believe the ſtory, he knew moſt part of the time that he was the Devil, and yet converſed with him, and that very profitably; for he performed many very uſeful ſervices for him, and conſtantly preſerved him from the danger of wolves and wild beaſts, which the country he travelled through was tolerably full of. Where, by the way, you are to underſtand, that the wolves and bears in thoſe countries knew the Devil, whatever diſguiſe he went in; or that the Devil has ſome way to fright bears and ſuch creatures more than we know of. Nor could this Devil ever be prevailed upon to hurt him, or any of his company. This account has an innumerable ſeries of diverting incidents attending it; but they are equal to all the reſt in bulk, and therefore too long for this book.

I find too, upon ſome more ordinary occaſions, the Devil has appeared to ſeveral people at their call: This indeed ſhews abundance of good humour in him, conſidering him as a Devil, and that he was mighty complaiſant: nay, ſome, they tell us, have a power to raiſe the Devil whenever they think fit; this I cannot bring the Devil to level with, unleſs I ſhould allow him to be ſervus ſervorum, as another Devil in diſguiſe calls

calls himſelf; ſubjected to every old wizard's call; or that he is under a neceſſity of appearing, on ſuch or ſuch particular occaſions, whoever it is that calls him; which would bring the Devil's circumſtances to a pitch of ſlavery which I ſee no reaſon to believe of them.

Here alſo I muſt take notice again, that though I ſay the Devil, when I ſpeak of all theſe apparitions, whether of a greater or leſſer kind, yet I am not obliged to ſuppoſe Satan himſelf in perſon is concerned to ſhew himſelf; but that ſome of his agents, deputies, and ſervants, are ſent for that purpoſe, and directed what diſguiſe of fleſh and blood to put on, as may be ſuitable to the occaſion.

This ſeems to be the only way to reconcile all thoſe ſimple and ridiculous appearances which not Satan, but his emiſſaries (which the old women call imps), ſometimes make, and the mean and ſorry employment they are put to. Thus fame tells us of a certain witch of quality, who called the Devil once to carry her over a brook, where the water was ſwelled with a haſty rain, and laſhed him ſoundly with a whip for letting her ladyſhip fall into the water before ſhe was quite over. Thus, alſo, as fame tells us, ſhe ſet the Devil to work, and made him build Crowland Abbey, where there was no foundation to be found, only for diſturbing the workmen a little who were firſt ſet about it. So it ſeems another laborious Devil was obliged to dig the great ditch croſs the country from the fen country to the edge of Suffolk and Eſſex; which however he has preſerved the reputation of, and where it croſſes New-Market heath, it is called the Devil's ditch to this day.

Another piece of puniſhment, no doubt it was, when the Devil was obliged to bring the ſtones out of Wales into Wiltſhire, to build Stonehenge. How this was ordered in thoſe days, when it ſeems they kept Satan to hard labour, I know not. I believe it muſt be regiſtered among the ancient pieces of art which are loſt in the world, ſuch as melting of ſtone, painting of glaſs, &c. Certainly they had the Devil under correction in thoſe days, that is to ſay, thoſe leſſer ſort of Devils; but I cannot think that the Muckle Thief Devil, as they call him in the North, Grand Signior Devil of them all, was ever reduced to diſcipline. What Devil it was that Dunſton took by the noſe with his red hot tongs, I have not yet examined antiquity enough to be certain of, any more than I can tell you what Devil it was that St. Francis played ſo many warm tricks with, and made him run away from him ſo often.

ten. However this I take upon me to ſay in the Devil's behalf, that it could not be our Satan the arch-devil of all devils, of whom I have been talking ſo long.

Nor is it unworthy the occaſion to take notice that we really wrong the Devil, and ſpeak of him very much to his diſadvantage, when we ſay, of ſuch a great lord, or ſuch a lady of quality, "I think the Devil is in your Grace." No no; Satan has other buſineſs; he very rarely poſſeſſes F——ls; beſides, ſome are ſo very far from having the Devil in them, that they are really tranſmigrated into the very eſſence of the Devil themſelves: and others again, not tranſmigrated or aſſimilated, but in deed and in truth ſhew us, that they are, or have mere native devils in every part and parcel of them, and that the reſt is only maſque and diſguiſe. Thus, if rage, envy, pride, and revenge, can conſtitute the parts of a devil, why ſhould not a Lady of ſuch quality, in whom all theſe extraordinaries abound, have a right to the title of being a devil really and ſubſtantially, and to all intents and purpoſes, in the moſt perfect and abſolute ſenſe, according to the moſt exquiſite deſcriptions of devils already given by me or any body elſe? And even juſt as Joan of Arc, or Joan Queen of Naples were; who were both ſent home to their native country as ſoon as it was diſcovered that they were real devils, and that Satan acknowledged them in that quality.

Nor does my Lady D——ſs's wearing ſometimes a caſe of humanity about her, called fleſh and blood, at all alter the caſe; for ſo it is evident, according to our preſent hypotheſis, Satan has always been allowed to do upon urgent occaſions; aye, and to make his perſonal appearance as ſuch even among the ſons and daughters of God too, as well as among the children of men; and therefore her Grace may have appeared in the ſhape of a fine Lady as long as ſhe has been ſuppoſed to do, without any impeachment of her juſt claim to the title of Devil; which being her true and natural original, ſhe ought not (and indeed ſhall not by me) be denied her ſhapes of honour whenever ſhe pleaſes to declare for a re-aſſumption.

And farther, to give every truth its due illuſtration, this need not be thought ſo ſtrange, and is far from being unjuſt. Her Grace (as ſhe, it may be, is now ſtiled) has not acted, at leaſt that I ever heard of, ſo unworthy her great and illuſtrious original, that we ſhould think ſhe has loſt any thing by walking about the world ſo many years in apparition; but to give her the true homage of her quality, ſhe has acted as conſonant

ſonant to the eſſence and nature of devil, which ſhe has ſuch a claim to, as was conſiſtant with the needful reſerve of her preſent diſguiſe.

Nor ſhall we lead the reader into any miſtake concerning this part of our work, as if this was or is meant to be a particular ſatire upon the D——ſs of ——, and upon her only, as if we had no devils among us, in the phænomena of fair ladies, but this one. If Satan would be ſo honeſt to us as he might be, (and it would be very ingenious in him, it muſt be acknowledged, to give us a little of his illumination in this caſe), we ſhould ſoon be able to unmaſk a great many notable figures among us, to our real ſurprize.

Indeed, it is a point worth our further inquiry, and would be a diſcovery many ways to our advantage were we bleſſed with it, to ſee how many real devils we have walking up and down the world in maſque; and how many hoop petticoats complete the entire maſque that diſguiſes the Devil in the ſhape of that thing called Woman.

As for the men, nature has ſatisfied herſelf in letting them be their own diſguiſe, and in ſuffering them to act the old women as old women are vulgarly underſtood in matters of council and politics: but if, at any time, they have occaſion for the Devil in perſon, they are obliged to call him to their aid in ſuch ſhape as he pleaſes to make uſe of, pro hac vice: and of all thoſe ſhapes, the moſt agreeable to him ſeems to be that of a female of quality, in which he has infinite opportunity to act to perfection, what part ſoever he is called in for.

How happy are thoſe people, who, they ſay have the particular quality, or acquired habit, called the ſecond ſight! One ſort of whom, they tell us, are able to diſtinguiſh the Devil, in whatſoever caſe or outſide of fleſh and blood he is pleaſed to put on, and conſequently could know the Devil whereever they met him. Was I bleſſed with this excellent and uſeful accompliſhment, how pleaſant would it be, and how particularly would it gratify my ſpleen, and all that which I, in common with my fellow creatures, carry about me, called ill nature, to ſtand in the Mall, or at the entrance to any of our aſſemblies of beauties, and point them out as they paſs by, with this particular mark —"That is a devil—that fine young toaſt is a devil—there is a Devil dreſſed in a new habit for the ball——there is a devil in a coach and ſix, cum alils, in ſhort, it would make a merry world among us, if we could but enter upon ſome proper method of ſuch diſcriminations;

but laud! what a hurricane would it raiſe, if, like——, who, they ſay ſcourged the Devil ſo often that he durſt not come near him in any ſhape whatever, we could find ſome new method out to make the Devil unmaſk; like the angel Uriel, who, Mr. Milton ſays, had an enchanted ſpear, with which, if he did but touch the Devil, in whatever diſguiſe he had put on, it obliged him immediately to ſtart up, and ſhew himſelf in his true original ſhape, mere devil as he was.

This would do nicely: and as I, who am originally a projector, have ſpent ſome time upon this ſtudy, and doubt not in a little time to finiſh my engine which I am contriving, to ſcrew the Devil out of every body, or any body, I queſtion not, when I have brought it to perfection, but I ſhall make moſt excellent diſcoveries by it; and beſides the many extraordinary advantages of it to human ſociety, I doubt not but it will make good ſport in the world too: Wherefore, when I publiſh my propoſals and divide it into ſhares, as other leſs uſeful projects have been done, I queſtion not for all the ſevere acts lately paſſed againſt bubbles, but I ſhall get ſubſcribers enough, &c.

In a word, a ſecret power of diſcovering what devils we have among us, and where, and what buſineſs they are doing, would be a vaſt advantage to us all; that we might know among the crowd of devils that walk about ſtreets, who are apparitions, and who are not.

Now I, you muſt know, at certain intervals, when the old gentleman's illuminations are upon me, and when I have ſomething of an eclairciſſement with him, have ſome degrees of this diſcriminating ſecond ſight; and therefore it is no ſtrange thing for me to tell a great many of my acquaintance that they are really devils, when they themſelves know nothing of the matter. Sometimes, indeed, I find it pretty hard to convince them of it, or, at leaſt, they are unwilling to own it; but it is not the leſs ſo for that.

I had a long diſcourſe upon this ſubject one day with a young beautiful lady of my acquaintance, whom the world very much admires; and as the world judges no farther than they can ſee, (and how ſhould they, you would ſay;) they take her to be, as ſhe really is, a moſt charming creature.

To me, indeed, ſhe diſcovered herſelf many ways, beſides the advantage I had of my extraordinary penetration by the magic powers which I am veſted with: to me, I ſay, ſhe appeared a fury, a ſatyr, a fiery little fiend, as could poſſibly be dreſſed

dreſſed up in fleſh. In ſhort, ſhe appeared to me what ſhe really is, a very devil. It is natural to human creatures to deſire to diſcover any extraordinary powers they are poſſeſſed of ſuperior to others; and this itch prevailing on me, among the reſt I was impatient to let this lady know that I underſtood her compoſition perfectly well, nay, as well as ſhe did herſelf.

In order to this, happening to be in the family once for ſome days, and having the honour to be very intimate with her, and her huſband too, I took an opportunity, on an extraordinary occaſion, when ſhe was in the height of good humour, to talk with her. You muſt note, that as I ſaid, the lady was in extraordinary good humour, and there had been a great deal of mirth in the family for ſome days; but one evening, Sir E———her huſband, upon ſome very ſharp turn ſhe gave to another gentleman, which made all the company pleaſant, run to her, and with a paſſion of good humour, took her in his arms, and turning to me, ſays he, "Jack, this wife of mine is full of wit and good humour; but when ſhe has a mind to be ſmart, ſhe is the keeneſt little devil in the world." This was alluding to the quick turn ſhe had given the other gentleman.

"Is that the beſt language you can give your wife! (ſays my lady.) "O Madam! (ſaid I) ſuch devils as you, are all angels." "Ay, ay, (ſaid my lady) I know that: he has only let a truth fly out that he does not underſtand."—"Look ye there now, (ſays Sir Edward:) could any thing but ſuch a dear devil as this have ſaid a thing ſo pointed? Well, well, (adds he) devil to a lady in a man's arms, is a word of divers interpretations." Thus they rallied for a good while, he holding her faſt all the time in his arms, and frequently kiſſing her; and at laſt it went off all in ſunſhine and mirth.

But the next day (for I had the honour to lodge in the lady's father's houſe where it all happened: I ſay the next day) my lady begins with me upon the ſubject, and that very ſmartly; ſo that at firſt I did not know whether ſhe was in jeſt or earneſt. "Aye, aye, (ſays ſhe) you men make nothing of your wives after you have them;" alluding to the diſcourſe with Sir Edward the night before.

"Why, Madam, (ſaid I) we men, as you are pleaſed to term us, if we meet with good wives, worſhip them and make idols of them. What would you have more of us?"

"No, no, (ſays ſhe): before you have them, they are angels; but when you have been in heaven, (adds ſhe, and ſmiled) then they are devils!"

"Why Madam, (ſays I) devils are, angels, you know, and were the higheſt ſort of angels once."

"Yes, (ſays ſhe, very ſmartly) all devils are angels, but all angels are not devils."

"But, Madam, (ſaid I) you ſhould never take it ill to be called devil, you know."

"I know! (ſays ſhe haſtily), what do you mean by that?"

"Why, Madam? (ſaid I, and looked very grave and ſerious): I thought you had known that I knew it, or elſe I would not have ſaid ſo; for I would not offend you: but you may depend I ſhall never diſcover it unleſs you order me to do ſo for your particular ſervice."

Upon this ſhe looked hard and wild, and bid me explain myſelf.

I told her, I was ready to explain myſelf if ſhe would give me her word ſhe would not reſent it, and would take nothing ill.

She gave me her word ſolemnly ſhe would not: though like a true devil, ſhe broke her promiſe with me all at once.

Well, however, being unconcerned whether ſhe kept her word or not, I began by telling her, that I had not long ſince obtained the ſecond ſight, and had ſome years ſtudied magic; by which I could penetrate into many things, which to ordinary perception were inviſible; and had ſome glaſſes, by the help of which I could ſee into all viſionary or imaginary appearances, in a different manner than other people did.

"Very well, (ſays ſhe) ſuppoſe you can, what is that to me?"

I told her that was nothing to her, any farther than that as ſhe knew herſelf to be originally not the ſame creature ſhe ſeemed to be, but was of a ſublime angelic original, ſo, by the help of my recited art, I knew it too; and ſo far it might relate to her.

"Very fine (ſays ſhe); ſo you would make a devil of me indeed!"

I took that occaſion to tell her, I would make nothing of her but what ſhe was: that I ſuppoſed ſhe knew well enough God Almighty never thought fit to make any human creature ſo perfect and completely beautiful as ſhe was, but that ſuch were alſo reſerved for figures to be aſſumed by angels of one kind or other.

She rallied me upon that; and told me, that would not bring me off; for I had not determined her for any thing angelic, but a mere devil; and how I could flatter her with being handſome, and a devil, both at the ſame time?

I told her as Satan, whom we abuſively called Devil, was an immortal ſeraph, and of an original angelic nature ſo abſtracted from any thing wicked he was a moſt glorious being: that when he thought fit to incaſe himſelf with fleſh, and walk about in diſguiſe, it was in his power, equally with other angels to make the form he took upon himſelf, be as he thought fit, beautiful or deformed.

Here ſhe diſputed the poſſibility of that; and, after charged me faintly with flattering her face, told me, the Devil could not be repreſented by any thing handſome: alledging to our conſtant picturing the Devil in all the frightful appearances imaginable.

I told her we wronged him very much in that; and quoted St Francis, to whom the Devil frequently appeared in the form of the moſt incomparably beautiful naked woman to allure him; and what means he uſed to turn the appearance into a Devil again; and how he effected it.

She put by the diſcourſe, and returned to that of angels: and inſiſted, that angels did not always aſſume beautiful appearances: that ſometimes they appeared in terrible ſhapes; but that, when they did not, it was at beſt only amiable faces, not exquiſite; and that therefore it would not hold that to be handſome ſhould always render them ſuſpected.

I told her the Devil had more occaſion to form beauties than other angels had; his buſineſs being principally to deceive and enſnare mankind: and then I gave her ſome examples upon the whole.

I found, by her diſcourſe, ſhe was willing enough to paſs for an angel; but it was the hardeſt thing in the world to convince her that ſhe was a Devil; and ſhe would not come into that by any means. She argued, that I knew her father; and that her mother was a very good woman, and was delivered of her in the ordinary way; and that there was ſuch and ſuch ladies who were preſent in the room when ſhe was born; and that they had often told her ſo.

I told her, that was nothing in ſuch a caſe as hers: that when the old gentleman had occaſion to transform himſelf into a fine lady, he could eaſily diſpoſe of a child, and place himſelf in the cradle inſtead of it, when the nurſe or mo-

ther was aſleep; nay or when they were broad awake either; it was the ſame thing to him: and I quoted Luther to her upon that occaſion, who affirms that it had been ſo. However, I ſaid, to convince her that I knew it, (for I would not have it that ſhe knew it already), if ſhe pleaſed I would go to my chamber, and fetch her my magic looking glaſs, where ſhe ſhould ſee her own picture, not only as it was an angelic picture for the world to admire, but a devil alſo frightful enough to any but herſelf, and me that underſtood it.

"No, no, (ſaid ſhe); I will look in none of your conjuring glaſſes: I know myſelf well enough, and I deſire to look no otherwiſe than I am."

No Madam, (ſaid I) I know that very well; nor do you need any better ſhape than that you appear in: it is exquiſitely fine; all the world knows you are a complete beauty; and that is a clear evidence what you would be, if your preſent appearing form was reduced to its proper perſonality."

"Appearing form! (ſays ſhe); why?—What! would you make an apparition of me?"

"An apparition, Madam! (ſaid I): yes, to be ſure! Why, you know you are nothing elſe but an apparition; and what elſe would you be, when it is ſo infinitely to your advantage."

With that ſhe turned pale and angry; and then roſe up haſtily, and looked into the glaſs, (a large pier glaſs being in the room) where ſhe ſtood, ſurveying herſelf from head to foot, with vanity not a little.

I took that time to ſlip away; and running up into my apartment, I fetched my magic glaſs, as I called it; in which I had a hollow caſe ſo framed behind a looking-glaſs, that in the firſt ſhe would ſee her own face only, in the ſecond ſhe would ſee the Devil's face, ugly and frightful enough, but dreſſed up with a lady's head clothes in a circle, the Devil's face in the center, and, as it were, at a little diſtance behind.

I came down again ſo ſoon that ſhe did not think the time long, eſpecially having ſpent it in ſurveying her fair ſelf. When I returned, I ſaid, "Come, Madam, do not trouble yourſelf to look there; that is not a glaſs capable of ſhewing you any thing; come take this glaſs."

"It will ſhew me as much of myſelf (ſays ſhe a little ſcornfully), as I deſire to ſee." So ſhe continued looking in the pier glaſs. After ſome time more, (for ſeeing her a little out of humour, I waited to ſee what obſervations ſhe would make) I aſked her if ſhe had viewed herſelf to her ſatisfaction? She

ſaid ſhe had; and ſhe had ſeen nothing of devil about her. "Come Madam, (ſaid I) look here;" and with that I opened the looking-glaſs, and ſhe looked in it; but ſaw nothing but her own face. Well, (ſays ſhe), the glaſſes agree well enough; I ſee no difference. What can you make of it?" With that I took it a little away. Don't you? (ſaid I) then I ſhould be miſtaken very much." So I looked in it myſelf; and giving it a turn, imperceptible to her, I ſhewed it her again; where ſhe ſaw the Devil indeed, dreſſed up like a fine lady, but ugly and devil-like as could be deſired for a devil to be.

She ſtarted, and cried out moſt horridly; and told me ſhe thought I was more of a devil than ſhe: for that ſhe knew nothing of all thoſe tricks, and I did it to fright her: ſhe believed I had raiſed the Devil.

I told her it was nothing but her own natural picture, and that ſhe knew well enough; and that I did not ſhew her to inform her of it, but to let her know that I knew it too, that ſo ſhe might make no pretences of being offended when I talked familiarly to her of a thing of this nature.

"Very well: ſo (ſays ſhe) I am a real frightful devil, am I?"

"O Madam! (ſaid I) don't ſay, am I? Why, you know what you are, don't you? A devil; aye, certainly; as ſure as the reſt of the world believes you are a lady."

I had a great deal of farther diſcourſe with her upon that ſubject, though ſhe fain would have beat me off it; and two or three times ſhe put the talk off, and brought ſomething elſe on; but I always found means to revive it, and to attack her on the reality of her being a devil, till at laſt I made her down right angry; and then ſhe ſhewed it.

Firſt ſhe cried: told me I came to affront her; that I would not talked ſo if Sir E———— was by; and that ſhe ought not to be uſed ſo. I endeavoured to pacify her; and told her I had not treated her with any indecency, and would not, becauſe, while ſhe thought fit to walk abroad incog, it was none of my buſineſs to diſcover her: that if ſhe thought fit to tell Sir E—— any thing of the diſcourſe, ſhe was very welcome, or to conceal it, (which I thought the wiſeſt courſe:) ſhe ſhould do juſt as ſhe pleaſed; but I made no queſtion I ſhould convince Sir E—— her huſband, that what I ſaid was juſt, and that ſhe was really ſo: whether it was for her ſervice for him to know it, was for her to conſider.

This

This calmed her a little; and she looked hard at me a minute without speaking a word; when, on a sudden she broke out thus: "And you will undertake (says she) to convince Sir E—— that he has married a devil, will ye? A fine story indeed! And what follows! why, then it must follow, that the child I go with (for she was big with child) will be a devil too, will it? A fine story for Sir E— indeed! is it not?"

"I don't know that, Madam, (said I): that's as you order it. By the father's side, (said I) I know it will not; but what it may by the mother's side, that is a doubt I can't resolve, till the Devil and I talk farther about it."

"You and the Devil talk together! (says she, and looked ruefully at me): Why, do you talk with the Devil then?"

"Aye, Madam, (said I) as sure as ever you did yourself: besides, (said I) can you question that?——Pray, whom am I talking to now?

"I think you are mad, (says she) why, you will make devils of all the family, it may be; and particularly I must be with child of a devil, that is certain."

"No, Madam, (said I) it is not certain, as I said before: I question it."

"Why, you say I am the Devil: the child, you know, has always most of the mother in it; then that must be a devil too, I think: What else can it be? (says she)."

"I can't tell that, Madam, (said I); that's as you agree among yourselves: this kind does not go by generation; that is a dispute foreign to the present purpose."

Then I entered into discourse with her of the ends and purposes for which the Devil takes up such a beautiful form as hers; and why it always gave me a suspicion, when I saw a lady handsomer than ordinary, and set me upon the search to be satisfied whether she was really a women or an apparition, ——a lady or a Devil,——allowing all along, that her being a Devil was quite out of the question.

Upon that very foot, she took me up again roundly; "And so (says she) you are very civil to me through all your discourse for I see it ends all in that, and you take it as a thing confessed that I am a Devil? A very pretty piece of good usage indeed? (says she); I thank you for it."

"Nay, Madam, (said I) do not take it ill of me; for I only discover to you that I knew it; I do not tell it you as a secret, for you are satisfied of that another way."

"Satisfied of what; (says she) that I am a Devil? I think the devil is in you;" and so began to be hot.

"A Devil! yes Madam, (ſaid I) without doubt a mere Devil; take it as you pleaſe, I can't help that." And ſo I began to take it ill that ſhe ſhould be diſguſted at opening ſuch a well known truth to her.

With that ſhe diſcovered it all at once: for ſhe turned fury, in the very latter of it: flew into a paſſion, railed at me, curſed me moſt heartily, and immediatly diſappeared; which, you know, is the particular mark of a ſpirit or apparition.

We had a great deal of diſcourſe beſides this, relating to ſeveral other young ladies of her acquaintance; ſome of which, I ſaid, were more apparitions like herſelf; and told her who were ſo, and who not, and the reaſon why they were ſo, and for what uſes and purpoſes; ſome to delude the world one way, and ſome another. She was pretty well pleaſed to hear that; but ſhe could not bear to hear her own true character, which, however, as cunning as ſhe was, made her act the Devil at laſt, (as you have heard) and vaniſh out of my ſight.

I have ſeen her in miniature ſeveral times ſince; but ſhe proves herſelf ſtill to be the Devil of a lady; for ſhe bears malice, and will never forgive me that I would not let her be an angel, but like a very devil as ſhe is, ſhe endeavours to kill me at a diſtance; and indeed the poiſon of her eyes (baſiliſk like) is very ſtrong, and has a ſtrong influence upon me; but I, that know her to be a devil, ſtrive very hard with myſelf to drive the memory of her out of my thoughts.

I have had two or three engagements ſince this, with other apparitions of the ſame ſex, and I find they are all alike; they are willing enough to be thought angels, but the word Devil does not go down at all with them; but it is all one; whenever we ſee an apparition, it is ſo natural to ſay, we have ſeen the Devil, that there is no prevailing with mankind to talk any other language. A gentleman of my acquaintance, the the other day, that had courted a lady a long time, had the misfortune to come a little ſuddently upon her, when ſhe did not expect him, and found her in ſuch a rage at ſome of her ſervants, that it quite diſordered her, eſpecially a footman; the fellow had done ſomething that was indeed provoking, but not ſufficient to put her into ſuch a paſſion, and ſo out of herſelf; nor was ſhe able to reſtrain herſelf when ſhe ſaw her lover come in, but damned the fellow, and raged like a fury at him.

My friend did his beſt to compoſe her, and begged the fellow's pardon of her, but it would not do; nay, the poor fellow made all the ſubmiſſions that could be expected, but it was

the ſame thing: and ſo the gentleman, not caring to engage himſelf farther than became him, withdrew, and came no more to her for three days in all which time ſhe was hardly cool.

The next day my friend came to me, and talking of it in confidence to me, I am afraid, ſays he I am going to marry a ſhe-devil; and ſo told me the ſtory. I took no notice of him but finding out his miſtreſs, and taking proper meaſures, with ſome of my particular ſkill, I ſoon found out that it was really ſo, that ſhe was a mere apparition; and had it not been for that accidental diſorder of her paſſions, which diſcovered her inſide, ſhe might indeed have cheated any man, for ſhe was a lovely Devil as ever was ſeen; ſhe talked like an angel, ſung like a Syrene, did every thing and ſaid every thing, that was taking and charming: but what then? it was all apparition, for ſhe was a mere devil. It is true, my friend married her; and though ſhe was a devil without doubt, yet either ſhe behaved ſo well, or he was ſo good, I never could hear him find fault with her.

Theſe are particular inſtances; but alas! I could run you a length beyond all thoſe examples, and give you ſuch a liſt of devils among the gay things of the town, that would fright you to think of; and you would preſently conclude, with me, that all the perfect beauties are Devils, mere apparitions: but time and paper fails; ſo we muſt only leave the men the caution, let them venture at their peril. I return to the ſubject.

We have a great many charming apparitions, of like kind, going daily about the world, in complete maſquerade; and, though we muſt not ſay ſo, they are in themſelves mere Devils, wicked, dangerous, murdering Devil's, that kill various ways, ſome, baſiliſk-like, with their eyes; ſome, Syren-like, with their tongues; all murderers, even from the beginning; it is true, it is a pity thoſe pretty apparitions ſhould be Devils and be ſo miſchievous as they are, but ſince it is ſo, I can do no leſs than to advertiſe you of it, that you may ſhun the Devil in whatever ſhape you meet with him.

Again, there are ſome half-devils, they ſay, like the Sagittarii, half man, half horſe, or rather like the ſatyr, who, they ſay, is half devil, half man; or, like my lord biſhop, who, they ſay, was half headed; whether they mean half-witted, or not, I do not find authors agree about it; but if they had voted him ſuch it had been as kind a thing as they could ſay of him, becauſe it would have cleared him from the ſcandal of being a Devil, or half a Devil, for we do not find that the Devil makes any alliance with f——ls. Then

Then, as to merry Devils, there is my Mr G——, he may indeed have the Devil in him, but it muſt be ſaid, to the credit of poſſeſſion in general, that Satan would have ſcorned to have entered into a ſoul ſo narrow that there was not room to hold him, or to take up with ſo diſcording a creature, ſo abject a ſcoundrel, as never made a figure among mankind greater than that of a thief, murderer, moulded up into quality, and a reparee dreſſed up *a-la maſque*, with a roye and a coronet.

Some little dog-kennel Devil may indeed take up his quarters in or near him, and ſo run into and out of him, as his drum beats a call; but to him that was born a Devil, Satan that never acts to no purpoſe, could not think him worth being poſſeſſed by any thing better than a devil of a dirty quality; that is to ſay, a ſpirit too mean to wear the name of a Devil, without ſome badge, or addition of infamy and meanneſs, to diſtinguiſh it by.

Thus, what Devil of quality would be confined to a P——n who inheriting all the pride and inſolence of his anceſtors, without one of their good qualities, the bully, the Billinſgate, and all the hereditary ill language of his family, without an ounce of their courage; that has been reſcued five or ſix times from the ſcandal of a coward, by the bravery, and at the hazard of friends, and never failed to be ungrateful; that if ever he committed a murder, did in cold blood, becauſe nobody could prove he ever had any hot; who poſſeſſed with a poltroon Devil, was always wickeder in the dark than he durſt be by day light; and who, after innumerable paſſive ſufferings, has been turned out of human ſociety, becauſe he could not be kicked or cuffed either into good manners, or good humour.

To ſay this was a devil, an apparition, or even an half-devil, would be unkind to Satan himſelf, ſince, though he (the Devil) has ſo many millions of inferior devils under his command, not one could be found baſe enough to match him, nor one devil found but what would think himſelf diſhonoured to be employed about him.

Some merry good for nothing devils we have indeed, which we might if we had room, ſpeak of at large, and divert you too with the relation; ſuch as my Lady Hatt's devil, in Eſſex, who upon laying a joyner's mallet in the window of a certain chamber, would come very orderly, and knock with it, all night, upon the window or againſt the wainſcoat, and diſturb

diſturb the neighbourhood, and then go away in the morning, as well ſatisfied as may be; whereas, if the mallet was not left, he would think himſelf affronted, and be as unſufferable and terrifying as poſſible, breaking the windows, ſplitting the wainſcot, committing all the diſorders, and doing all the damage that he was able, to the houſe, and to the goods in it. And again, ſuch as the drumming devil in the well, at Oundle, in Northamptonſhire, and ſuch like.

A great many antique devils have been ſeen alſo who ſeem to have little or nothing to do, but only to aſſure us, that they can appear, if they pleaſe, and that there is a reality in the thing called apparition.

As to ſhadows of devils, and immaginary appearances, ſuch as appear, and yet are inviſible at the ſame time, I had thought to have beſtowed a chapter upon them by themſelves; but it may be as much to the purpoſe to let them alone, as to meddle with them. It is ſaid our old friend Luther uſed to be exceedingly troubled with ſuch inviſible apparitions; and he tells us much of them, in what they call his table talk; but, with Mr Luther's leave, though the Devil paſſes for a very great liar, I could ſwallow many things of his own proper making, as ſoon as ſome of thoſe I find in a book that goes by his name; particularly the ſtory of the Devil in a baſket, the child flying out of the cradle, and the like.

In a word, the walking devils that we have generally among us, are of the female ſex; whether it be that the Devil finds leſs difficulty to manage them, or that he lives quieter with them, or that they are fitter for his buſineſs than the men, I ſhall not now enter into a diſpute about that. Perhaps he goes better diſguiſed in the fair ſex than otherwiſe. Antiquity gives us many hiſtories of ſhe-devils, ſuch as we can very ſeldom match for wickedneſs among the men; ſuch now, as in the text, Lot's daughters, Joſeph's miſtreſs, Sampſon's Dalilah, Herod's Herodias; theſe were certainly devils, or played the Devil ſufficiently in their turn; one male apparition indeed the Scripture furniſhes you with, and that is Judas; for his maſter ſays expreſsly of him, one of you is a Devil; not, has the Devil, or poſſeſſed of the Devil; but really is a devil, or is a real Devil.

How happy is it, that this great ſecret comes thus to be diſcovered to mankind? Certainly the world has gone on in ignorance a long time, and at a ſtrange rate that, we ſhould have ſo many devils continually walking about among us in human ſhape, and we know it not. Philo-

Philoſophers tell us, that there is a world of ſpirits; and many learned pieces of gueſs work they make at it, repreſenting the world to be ſo near us, that the air, as they deſcribe it, muſt be full of dragons and devils, enough to fright our imaginations with the very thoughts of them; and if they ſay true, it is our great felicity that we cannot ſee any farther into it than we do, which, if we could, would appear as frightful as hell itſelf; but none of thoſe ſages ever told us, till now that half the people, who converſe with us are apparitions, eſpecially of the women; and among them, eſpecially of the valuable part, the women of figure, the fair, the beautiful, or patched and painted.

This unuſual phænomenon has been ſeen but a little, and but a little way, and the general part of mankind cannot come into the ſame notions about it, nay, perhaps they will all think it ſtrange; but be it as ſtrange as it will, the nature of the thing confirms it, that this lower ſphere is full of devils; and ſome of both ſexes have given ſtrange teſtimonies of the reality of their pre-exiſtent deviliſm, for many ages paſt, though I think it never came to the height it is now.

It is true, in former times, Satan dealt much in old women, and thoſe as I have obſerved already, very ugly, ugly as a witch, black as a witch, I look like a witch, all proverbial ſpeeches, and which teſtified what tools it was Satan generally worked with; and theſe old ſpectres, they tell us, uſed to ride through the air in the night, and upon broomſticks too, all mighty homely doings! Some ſay they uſed to go to viſit their grand ſignior the Devil, in thoſe nocturnal preambulations: but be that as it will, it is certain the Devil has changed hands, and that now he walks about the world clothed in beauty, covered with the charms of the lovely, and he fails not to diſguiſe himſelf effectually by it; for who would think a beautiful lady could be a maſque to the Devil; and that a fine face, a divine ſhape, and a heavenly aſpect ſhould bring the Devil in her company, nay, ſhould be herſelf an apparition, a mere Devil.

The inquiry is indeed worth our while, and therefore I hope all the enamoured beaux and boys, all the beauty-hunters and fortune-hunters, will take heed; for I ſuppoſe if they get the Devil they will not complain for want of a fortune; and there is danger enough I aſſure you, for the world is full of apparitions, *non roſa ſine ſpinis;* not a beauty without a devil, the old women ſpectres, and the young women apparitions;

the ugly ones witches, and the handſome ones devils: Lord have mercy, and a X may be ſet on the man's door that goes a courting.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the cloven foot walking about the world without the Devil; viz. of witches making bargains for the Devil; and particularly of ſelling ſouls to the Devil.

I HAVE dwelt long upon the Devil in maſque as he goes about the world incog, and eſpecially without his cloven foot; and have touched upon ſome of his diſguiſes in the management of his intereſt in the world; I muſt ſay ſome of his diſguiſes only; for who can give a full account of his tricks and arts in ſo narrow a compaſs as I am preſcribed to?

But, as I ſaid, that every devil has not a cloven foot, ſo I muſt add now, for the preſent purpoſe, that every cloven foot is not the devil.

Not but that, wherever I ſhould meet the cloven hoof, I ſhould expect that the Devil was not far off, and ſhould be apt to raiſe the poſſe againſt him, to apprehend him; yet it may happen otherwiſe, that is certain; every coin has its counterfeit, every art its pretender, every whore her admirer, every error its patron, and every day has its devil.

I have had ſome thought of making a full and complete diſcovery of that great doubt which has ſo long puzzled the world; namely, whether there is any ſuch thing as ſecret making bargains with the Devil; and the firſt poſitive aſſurance I can give you in the caſe is, that if there is not, it is not his fault; it is not for want of his endeavour, it is plain; if you will pardon me for taking ſo mean a ſtep, as that of quoting the Scripture; I ſay, it is evident he would fain have made a contract with our Saviour, and he bid boldly (give him his due); namely, all the kingdoms of the world for one bend of his knee. Impudent ſeraph! to think the Lord ſhould pay thee homage! How many would agree with him here for a leſs price! They ſay, Oliver Cromwell ſtruck a bargain with him. and that he gave Oliver the Protectorſhip, but would not let him call himſelf king; which ſtuck ſo cloſe to that furioſo, that the mortification ſpread into his ſoul; and it is

ſaid

ſaid he died of a gangrene in the ſpleen. But take notice, and do Oliver juſtice; I do not vouch the ſtory, neither does the biſhop ſays one word of it.

Fame uſed to ſay, that the old famous Duke of Luxemburg made a magic compact of this kind; nay, I have heard many an (old woman) officer of the troops, who never cared to ſee his face, declare, that he carried the Devil at his back. I remember a certain author of a news paper, in London, was once taken up, and they ſay, it coſt him 50l. for printing, in his news, that Luxemburg was hump-backed. Now, if I have reſolved the difficulty, namely that he was not humped, only carried the Devil at his back; I think the poor man ſhould have his 50l. again, or I ſhould have it for the diſcovery.

I confeſs I do not well underſtand the compacting with ſuch a fellow as can neither write nor read; nor do I know who is the ſcrivener between them, or how the indenture can be executed; but that which is worſe than all the reſt is, that, in the firſt place, the Devil never keeps articles: he will contract, perhaps, and they ſay he is mighty forward to make conditions; but who ſhall bind him to the performance, and where is the penalty if he fails? If we agree with him, he will be apt enough to claim his bargain, and demand payment: nay, perhaps, before it is due; but who ſhall make him ſtand to it?

Beſides, he is a knave in his dealings; for he really promiſes what he cannot perform; witneſs his impudent propoſal to our Lord, mentioned above, All theſe kingdoms will I give thee! Lying ſpirit! why they were none of thine to give, no, not one of them; for the earth is the Lord's and the kingdoms thereof; nor were they in his power any more than in his right; ſo (I have heard that) ſome poor diſmal creatures have ſold themſelves to the Devil for a ſum of money, for ſo much caſh; and yet, even in that caſe, when the day of payment came, I never heard that he brought the money, or paid the purchaſe; ſo that he is a ſcoundrel in his treaties; for you muſt truſt him for your bargain, but not be able to get your money; and yet on his part, he comes for you to an hour; of which by itſelf.

In a word, let me caution you all, when you trade with the Devil, either get the price, or quit the bargain; the Devil is a cunning ſhaver, he will wriggle himſelf out of the performance on his ſide if poſſible, and yet expect you ſhould be punctual

on your ſide. They tell you of a poor fellow in Hertfordſhire that offered to ſell his ſoul to him for a cow; and though the Devil promiſed, and as they ſay, ſigned the writing, yet the poor countryman could never get the cow of him, but ſtill, as he brought a cow to him, ſome body or other came, and challenged it, proving that it was loſt, or ſtolen from him; ſo that the man got nothing but the name of a cow-ſtealer, and was, at laſt, carried to Hereford goal, and condemned to be hanged for ſtealing two cows, one after another: the wicked fellow was then in the greateſt diſtreſs imaginable; he ſummoned his Devil to help him out; but he failed him, as the Devil always will; he really had not ſtolen the cows, but they were found in his poſſeſſion, and he could give no account how he came by them; at laſt he was driven to confeſs the truth, told the horrid bargain he had made, and how the Devil often promiſed him a cow, but never gave him one, except that, ſeveral times, in the morning early, he found a cow put into his yard, but it always proved to belong to ſome of his neighbours: whether the man was hanged, or not, the ſtory does not relate but this part is to my purpoſe, that they that make bargains with the Devil, ought to make him give ſecurity for the performance of covenants; and whom the Devil, would get to be bound for him, I cannot tell: they muſt look to that who make the bargain: beſides, if he had not had a mind to cheat or baffle the poor man, what need he have taken a cow ſo near home? If he has ſuch and ſuch powers as we talk of, and as fancy and fable furniſh for him, could he not have carried a cow in the air, upon a broomſtick, as well as an old woman? Could he not have ſtolen a cow for him in Lincolnſhire, and ſet it down in Herefordſhire, and ſo have peformed his bargain ſaved his credit, and kept the poor man out of trouble? So that, if the ſtory is true, as I really believe it is, either it is not the Devil that makes thoſe bargains, or the Devil has not ſuch power as we beſtow on him, except on ſpecial occaſions, he gets a permit, and is bid go, as in the caſe of Job, the Gadarene hogs, and the like.

We have another example of a man's ſelling himſelf to the Devil, that is very remarkable, and that is in the Bible too; and even in that, I do not find what the Devil did for him in payment of the purchaſe price. The perſon ſelling was Ahab, of whom the text ſays expreſsly, "There was none, like him, "who did ſell himſelf to work wickedneſs, in the ſight of the "Lord," 1 Kings xxi. 20, and 25. I think it might have been

been rendered, if not tranſlated in the ſpite of the Lord, or in defiance of God; for certainly that is the meaning of it. And now allow me to preach a little upon this text; my ſermon ſhall be very ſhort; Ahab ſold himſelf; whom did he ſell himſelf to? I anſwer that queſtion by a queſtion; who would buy him? Who, as we ſay, would give any thing for him? And the anſwer to that is plain alſo; you may judge of the purchaſer by the work he was to do; And he that buys a ſlave in the market, buys him to work for him, and to do ſuch buſineſs as he has for him to do: Ahab was bought to work wickedneſs; and who would buy him for that but the Devil.

I think there is no room to doubt but Ahab ſold himſelf to the Devil; the text is plain, that he ſold himſelf, and the work he was ſold to do, points out the maſter that bought him; what price he agreed with the Devil for, that indeed the text is ſilent on; ſo we may let it alone, nor is it much to our purpoſe, unleſs it be to enquire whether the Devil ſtood to his bargain or not, and whether he paid the money according to agreement, or cheated him as he did the farmer at Hereford.

Thus buying and ſelling between the Devil and us, is, I muſt confeſs, an odd ſtock jobbing; and indeed the Devil may be ſaid to ſell the bear ſkin, whatever he buys; but the ſtrangeſt part is when he comes to demand the transfer; for as I hinted before, whether he performs or not, he expects his bargain to a tittle: there is indeed ſome difficulty in reſolving how and in what manner, payment is made; the ſtories we meet with in our chimney-corner hiſtories, and which are ſo many ways made uſe of to make the Devil frightful to us, and our heirs for ever, are generally ſo fooliſh and ridiculous, as, if true, or not true, they have nothing material in them, are of no ſignification; or elſe ſo impoſſible in their nature, that they make no impreſſion upon any body above twelve years old, and under ſeventy; or elſe are ſo tragical, that antiquity has fabled them down to our taſte, that we might be able to hear them, and repeat them, with leſs horror than is due to them.

This variety has taken off our reliſh of the thing in general, and made the trade of ſoul-ſelling like our late more eminent bubbles, be taken to be a cheat, and to have little in it.

However, to ſpeak a little more gravely to it, I cannot ſay but that, ſince by the two eminent inſtances of it above, in Ahab, and in Chriſt himſelf, the fact is evidently aſcertained; and that the Devil has attempted to make ſuch a bargain on

one, and actually did make it with the other; the poſſibility of it is not to be diſputed: but then I muſt explain the manner of it a little, and bring it down nearer to our underſtanding that it may be more intelligible than it is; for as for this ſelling of the ſoul, and making a bargain to give the Devil poſſeſſion, by delivery and ſeiſin, on the day appointed, that I cannot come into by any means; no, nor into the other part, namely, of the Devil coming to claim his bargain, and to demand the ſoul, according to agreement, and upon default of a fair delivery, taking it away by violence, caſe and all, of which we have many hiſtorical relations, pretty current among us: ſome of which for, ought I know, we might have hoped had been true, if we had not been ſure they were faiſe; and others we had reaſon to fear were falſe, becauſe it was impoſſible they ſhould be true.

The bargains of this kind, according to the beſt accounts we have of them, uſed to conſiſt of two main articles, according to the ordinary ſtipulations, in all covenants; namely,

1. Something to be performed on the Devil's part, buying.
2. Something to be performed on the man's part, ſelling.

Firſt, the Devil's part: this was generally ſome poor trifle, for the Devil generally bought good penny worths, and oftentimes, like a complete ſharper, agreed to give what he was not able to procure, that is to ſay, would bargain for a price he could not pay, as in the caſe of the Hereford man and the cow; for example, 1. long life; this, though the deluded chapman has often had folly enough to contract for, the Devil never had power to make good: and we have a famous ſtory, how true I know not, of a wretch that ſold himſelf to the Devil, on condition, he, Satan, ſhould aſſure him, (1.) That he ſhould never want victuals: (2.) That he ſhould never be cold: (3.) that he ſhould always come to him when he called him: (4.) That he ſhould let him live one and twenty years, and then Satan was at liberty to have him: that is, I ſuppoſe, to take him wherever he could find him.

It ſeems the fellow's deſire, to be aſſured of twenty-one years life, was chiefly, that during that time, he might be as wicked as he would, and yet ſhould be ſure not to be hanged: nay, to be free from all puniſhment. Upon this footing, it is ſaid he commenced rogue, and committed a great many robberies,

beries, and other villainous things. Now, it ſeems, the Devil was pretty true to his bargain, in ſeveral of thoſe things: particularly that two or three times, when the fellow was taken up for ſome petty crimes, and called for his old friend, he came and frightened the conſtables ſo, that they let the offender get away from them: but at length having done ſome capital crime, a ſet of conſtables, or ſuch like officers, ſeized upon him, who were not to be frightened with the Devil in what ſhape ſoever he appeared: ſo that they carried him off, and he was commited to Newgate, or ſome other priſon as effectual.

Nor could Satan, with all his ſkill, unlock his fetters, much leſs the priſon door; but he was tried, convicted, and executed. The fellow, in this extremity, they ſay, expoſtulated with the Devil for his bargain: the term of twenty-one years, it ſeems, not being expired. But the Devil, it is ſaid, ſhuffled with him, told him a good while he would get him out, bid him have patience and ſtay a little: and thus he led him on, till he came as it were, within ſight of the gallows, that is to ſay, within a day or two of his execution: when the Devil caviled upon his bargain, told him, he agreed to let him live twenty-one years, and he had not hindered him, but that he did not covenant to cauſe him to live that time: that there was a great deal of difference between doing and ſuffering; that he was to ſuffer him to live, and that he did: but he could not make him live, when he had brought himſelf to the gallows.

Whether this ſtory was true or not, for you muſt not expect we hiſtorians ſhould anſwer for the diſcourſe between the Devil and his chaps, becauſe we were not privy to the bargain: I ſay, whether it was true or not, the infancy is to our purpoſe ſeveral ways.

1. It confirms what I have ſaid of the knavery of the Devil, in his dealings: and that, when he has ſtockjobbed with us, on the beſt conditions he can get, he very ſeldom performs his bargain.

2. It confirms what I have likewiſe ſaid, that the Devil's power is limited: with this adition, that he not only cannot deſtroy the life of man, but that he cannot preſerve it; in ſhort, he can neither prevent nor bring on our diſtruction.

I may be allowed I hope, for the ſake of the preſent diſcourſe, to ſuppoſe that the Devil would have been ſo juſt to this

this wicked, though fooliſh creature, as to have ſaved him from the gallows if he could; but, it ſeems he at laſt acknowledged that it was not in his power; nay he could not keep him from being taken and carried to priſon, after he had got into the hands of a bold fellow or two, that were not to be ſcared with his bluſter, as ſome fooliſh creatures had been before.

And how ſimple, how weak, how unlike any thing of angelic nature was it, to attempt to ſave the poor wretch, only by little noiſes and ſham appearances, putting out the candles, ruſhing and juſtling in the dark, and the like! If the Devil was that mighty ſeraph, which we have heard of, if he is a god of this world, a prince of the air a ſpirit able to deſtroy cities, and make havock in the world, if he can raiſe tempeſts and ſtorms, throw fire about the world, and do; wonderful things, as an unchained devil no doubt could do; what need all this frippery? And what need he try ſo many ridiculous ways, by the emptyneſs, nay, the ſilly nonſenſical manner, of which he ſhews that he is able to do no better, and that his power is extinguiſhed? In a word, he would certainly act otherwiſe if he could: *Sed caret pedibus* he wants power.

How weak a thing is it then for any man to expect performance from the Devil? If he has not power to do miſchief, which is his element, his very nature, and, on many accounts, is the very ſum of his deſires; how ſhould he have power to do good? how power to deliver, from danger or from death? which deliverance would be in itſelf a good: and we know it is not in his nature to do good to, or for any man

In a word, the Devil is ſtrangely impudent, to think that any man ſhould depend upon him for the performance of an agreement of any kind whatever, when he knows himſelf that he is not able, if he was honeſt enough, to be as good as his word.

We come next to his expecting our performance to him; Though he is not ſo juſt to us, yet, it ſeems, he never fails to come and demand payment of us at the very day appointed. He was but a weak trader in things of this nature, who having ſold his ſoul to the Devil, (ſo our old women's tales call the thing) and when the Devil came to demand his bargain put it off, as a thing of no force: for that it was done ſo long ago, he thought he (the Devil) had forgot it. It was a better anſwer which, they tell us a Lutheran divine gave the Devil in the name of a poor wretch who had ſold himſelf to the

the Devil, and who was in a terrible fright about his coming for his bargain,—as he might well be indeed, if the Devil has ſuch a power as really to come and take it by force. The ſtory (if you can hear a ſerious one) is this.

The man was in a great horror of mind, and the family feared he would deſtroy himſelf. At length they ſent for a Lutheran miniſter to talk with him: and who after ſome labour with him, got out the truth, viz. that he had ſold himſelf to the Devil: and that the time was almoſt expired when he expected the Devil would come and fetch him away; and he was ſure he would not fail coming at the time to a minute. The miniſter firſt endeavoured to convince him of the horrid crime, and to bring him to a true penitence for that part; and having, as he thought, made him a ſincere penitent, he then began to encourage him; and particularly deſired of him, that when the time was come that the Devil would fetch him away, he (the miniſter) ſhould be in the houſe with him. Accordingly, to make the ſtory ſhort, the time came,—the Devil came? and the miniſter was preſent when the Devil came. What ſhape he was in the ſtory does not ſay: the man ſaid he ſaw him, and cried out; the miniſter could not ſee him; but the man affirming he was in the room, the miniſter ſaid aloud, "In the name of the living God, Satan, what cameſt thou here for?" The Devil anſwered, "I come for my own." The miniſter then replies, "He is not thy own; for Jeſus Chriſt has redeemed him: and in his name I charge you to avoid, and touch him not." At which, ſays the ſtory, the Devil gave a furious ſtamp, (with his cloven foot, I ſuppoſe,) and went away, and was never known to moleſt him afterwards.

Another ſtory, though it be in itſelf a long one, I ſhall abridge, for your reading with the leſs uneaſineſs as follows:

A young gentleman of ———berg, in the elector of Brandenburg's (now the King of Pruſſia's) dominions, being deeply in love with a beautiful lady, but ſome-what above his fortune, and when he could by no means bring her to love him, applied himſelf to an old thing called a witch, for her aſſiſtance; and promiſed her great things if ſhe could bring the lady to love him, or any how compaſs her, ſo as he might have his will of her; nay, at laſt he told her he would give up his ſoul to her, if ſhe would anſwer his deſire.

The old hag, it ſeems, having had ſome of his money, very honeſtly tried what ſhe could do; but all to no purpoſe; the lady would not comply: but when he offered ſuch a great

price, ſhe told him ſhe would conſider farther againſt ſuch a time, and appointed him the next evening.

At the time appointed he comes; and the witch made a long ſpeech to him upon the nicety of the affair, (I ſuppoſe to prepare him not to be ſurprized at what was to come); for ſhe ſuppoſed he was not ſo very deſperately bent as he appeared to be. She told him it was a thing of very great difficulty: but as he had made ſuch a great offer, of ſelling his ſoul for it, ſhe had an acquaintance in the houſe who was better ſkilled than ſhe was in ſuch particular things, and would treat with him farther; and ſhe doubted not, but that, both together, they might anſwer his end. The fellow, it ſeems, was ſtill of the ſame mind; and told her, he cared not what he pawned or ſold, if he could but obtain the lady. "Well, (ſays the old hag) ſit ſtill a while;" and with that ſhe withdraws.

By and by ſhe comes in again with a queſtion in her mouth. "Pray (ſays ſhe) do you ſeek this lady for a wife, or for a miſtreſs? Would you marry her, or would you only lie with her?" The young man told her no, no, he did not expect ſhe would lie with him; therefore he would be ſatisfied to marry her; but aſks her why ſhe put that to him? "Why, truly, (ſays the old hag) my reaſon is very weighty; for if you would have her for your wife, I doubt we can do you no ſervice; but if you have a mind to lie with her, the perſon I ſpeak of will undertake it."

The man was ſurpriſed at that; only he objected, that this was a tranſient or ſhort felicity, and that he ſhould perhaps have her no more. The old hag bid him not fear, but that, if ſhe once yielded to be his whore, he might have her as often as he pleaſed. Upon this he conſents, for he was ſtark-mad for the lady. He having conſented, ſhe told him then he ſhould follow her; but told him, whoever he ſaw, he muſt ſpeak to nobody but her, till ſhe gave him leave; and that he ſhould not be ſurprized, whatever happened, for no hurt ſhould befal him. All which he agreed to: and the old woman going out, he followed her.

Being, upon this, led into another room, where there was very little light, yet enough to let him ſee that there was nobody in it but himſelf and the woman, he was deſired to ſit down on a chair next to a table; and the old woman clapping the door to after her, he aſked her why ſhe ſhut the door, and where the perſon was ſhe told him of? At which ſhe anſwered,

ed, "There he is," (pointing to a chair at a little diſtance.) The young gentleman turning his head, ſaw a grave kind of man ſitting in an elbow chair, though he ſaid he could have ſworn there was nobody in the chair when the old woman ſhut the door. However, having promiſed not to ſpeak to any body but the old woman, he ſaid not a word.

By and by, the woman making abundance of ſtrange geſtures and motions, and mumbling over ſeveral things which he could not underſtand, on a ſudden, a large wicker chair, which ſtood by the chimney, removes to the other end of the table which he ſat by, but there was nobody in the chair. In about two minutes after the chair removed, there appeared a perſon ſitting in that too, who (the room being, as he ſaid, almoſt dark) could not be ſo diſtinguiſhed by the eye as to ſee his countenance.

After ſome while, the firſt man, and the chair he ſat in, moved, as if they had been one body, to the table alſo, and the old woman and the two men ſeemed to talk together: but the young man did not underſtand any thing they ſaid. After ſome time, the old witch turned to the young gentleman; told him his requeſt was granted, but not for marriage; but the lady ſhould love and receive him.

The witch then gave him a ſtick, dipped in tar at both ends, and bid him hold it to a candle, which he did; and, inſtead of burning like a ſtick, it burnt out like a torch. Then ſhe bid him break it off in the middle, and light the other end; he did that too, and all the room ſeemed to be in a light flame. Then ſhe ſaid, "Deliver one piece here," (pointing to only one of the perſons:) So he gave the firſt fire-ſtick to the firſt man, or apparition. "Now (ſays ſhe) deliver the other here:" ſo he gave the other piece to the other apparition; at which they both roſe up, and ſpoke to him words, which, he ſaid, he underſtood not, and could not repeat; and immediately vaniſhed, with the fire ſticks and all, leaving the room full of ſmoke. I do not remember that the ſtory ſays any thing of brimſtone, or the ſmell of it; but it ſays the door continued faſt locked, and nobody was left in the room but the young gentleman and the witch.

Now the ceremony being over, he aſked the witch if the buſineſs was done? She ſaid, "Yes," "Well, but (ſays he) have I ſold my ſoul to the Devil?"——"Yes (ſays ſhe) you have; and you gave him poſſeſſion when you delivered the two fire-ſticks to him." "To him! (ſays he;) why, was that the Devil?"

Devil?"—"Yes," (ſays the old hag;) at which the young man was in a terrible fright for a while, but it went off again.

"And what's next? (ſaid he:) when ſhall I ſee the lady for whoſe ſake I have done all this?" "You ſhall know that preſently," (ſaid ſhe;) and opening the door in the next room, ſhe preſents him with a moſt beautiful lady, but had charged him not to ſpeak a word to her. She was exactly dreſſed like, and he preſently knew her to be the lady he deſired; upon which he flew to her, and claſped her in his arms, —but that moment he had her faſt, as he thought, in his arms, ſhe vaniſhed out of his ſight.

Finding himſelf thus diſappointed, he upbraids the old woman with betraying him, and flew out, with ill language at her, in a great rage. The Devil often deluded him thus afterwards, with ſhews and appearances, but ſtill no performance. After a while, he gets an opportunity to ſpeak with the lady herſelf in reality; but ſhe was as poſitive in her denial as ever, and even took away all hopes of his ever obtaining her, which put him into deſpair; for now, he thought, he had given himſelf up to the Devil for nothing, and this brought him to himſelf, ſo that he made a penitent confeſſion of his crime to ſome friends, who took great care of him, and encouraged him, and at laſt furniſhed him with ſuch an anſwer, as put the Devil into a fright when he came for the bargain.

For Satan, it ſeems, (as the ſtory ſays) had the impudence to demand his agreement, notwithſtanding he had failed in the performance on his part. What the anſwer was, I do not pretend to have ſeen; but it ſeems it was like ſomething what was mentioned above, viz. that he was in better hands; and that he durſt not touch him.

I have heard of another perſon that had actually ſigned a contract with the Devil; and, upon a faſt kept by ſome Proteſtant or Chriſtian divines, while they were praying for the poor man, the Devil was obliged to come and throw the contract in at the window.

But I vouch none of theſe ſtories. There may be much in them, and much uſe made of them, even whether exactly ſuch in fact as they are related, or not. The beſt uſe I can make of them is this:——If any wicked deſperate wretches, have made bargain and ſale with Satan, their only way is to repent, if they know how, and that before he comes to claim them: then batter him with his own guns; play religion againſt deviliſm, and perhaps they may drive the Devil out of their reach;

reach; at leaſt he will not come at them, which is as well, on the other hand, how many ſtories have we handed about, of the Devil's really coming with a terrible appearance at the time appointed, and powerfully, or by violence, carrying away thoſe that have given themſelves thus up to him! nay, and ſometimes a piece of the houſe along with them, as in the famous inſtance of Sadbury, anno 1662. It ſeems he comes with rage and fury upon ſuch occaſions, pretending he only comes to take his own, or as if he had leave given to come and take his goods, as we ſay, where he could find them, and would ſtrike a terror into all that ſhould oppoſe him.

The greateſt part of the terror we are uſually in upon this occaſion, is from a ſuppoſition, that, when this hell-fire contract is once made, God allows the Devil to come and take the wicked creatures, how and in what manner he thinks fit, as being given up to him by their own act and deed: But in my opinion, there is no divinity at all in that; for in our law we puniſh a *felo dese*, or ſelf-murder, becauſe as the law ſuggeſts, he had no right to take away his own life; that he being a ſubject of the commonwealth, the government claims a ward or cuſtody of him; and ſo it was not murder only, but robbery, and is a felony againſt the ſtate, robbing the king of his liege-man as it is juſtly called; ſo neither has any man a right to diſpoſe of his ſoul, which belongs to his maker in property, and in right of creation. The man then having no right to ſell, Satan has no right to buy, or at beſt, he has made a purchaſe without a title, and conſequently has no juſt claim to the poſſeſſion.

It is therefore a miſtake to ſay, when any of us have been ſo mad as to make ſuch a pretended contract with the Devil, that God gives him leave to take it as his due. It is no ſuch thing: the Devil has bought what you had no right to ſell; and therefore as an unlawful oath is to be repented of, and then broken; ſo your buſineſs is to repent of the crime, and then tell the Devil you have better conſidered of it, and that you will not ſtand to your bargain, for you had no power to ſell; and if he pretends to violence after that, I am miſtaken; I believe the Devil knows better.

It is true, our old mothers and nurſes have told us other things; but they only told us what their mothers and nurſes told them; and ſo the tale has been handed down from one generation of old women to another; but we have no vouchers for the fact, other than oral tradition, the credit of whic

I confeſs goes but a very little way with me; nor do I believe it one jot the more for all the frightful addenda which they generally join to the tale; for it never wants a great variety of that kind.

Thus they tell us, the Devil carried away Dr Fauſtus, and took a piece of the wall of his garden along with him. Thus at Saliſbury, the Devil (as it is ſaid, and publicly printed) carried away two fellows that had given themſelves up to him, and carried away the roof of the houſe with them, and the like; all which I believe my ſhare of. Beſides, if theſe ſtories were really true, they are all againſt the Devil's true intereſt. Satan muſt be a fool (which is indeed what I never took him to be) in the main; this would not be the way to increaſe the number of deſperadoes, who ſhould thus put themſelves into his hands, but to make himſelf a terror to them: And this is one of the moſt powerful objections I have againſt the thing; for the Devil, I ſay, is no fool, that muſt be acknowledged; he knows his own game, and generally plays it ſure.

I might, before I quit this point, ſeriouſly reflect here upon our BEAU MONDE, viz. the gay part of mankind, eſpecially thoſe of the times we live in; who walk about in a compoſure and tranquility inexpreſſible, and yet as we all know, muſt certainly have all ſold themſelves to the Devil, for the power of acting the fooliſheſt things with the greateſt applauſe. It is true, to be a fool is the moſt pleaſant life in the world, if the fool has but the particular felicity, which few fools want, viz. to think themſelves wiſe. The learned ſay it is the dignity and perfection of fools, that they never fail truſting themſelves; they believe themſelves ſufficient and able for every thing; and hence their want or waſte of brains is no grievance to them, but they hug themſelves in the ſatiety of their own wit: but to bring other people to have the ſame notion of them which they have of themſelves, and to have their apiſh and ridiculous conduct make the ſame impreſſion on the minds of others as it does on their own, this requires a general infatuation, and muſt either be a judgment from heaven, or a miſt from hell. Nothing but the Devil can make all the men of brains applaud a fool; and can any man believe that the Devil will do this for nothing? No, no: he will be well paid for it; and I know no other way they have to compound with him, but this of bargain and ſale.

It is the ſame thing with rakes and bullies as it is with fools and beux: and this brings me to the ſubject of buying

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and ſelling itſelf, and examine what is underſtood by it in the world,——what people means by ſuch and ſuch a man ſelling himſelf to the Devil. I know the common acception of it is, that they make ſome capitulation for ſome indulgence in wickedneſs on condition of ſafety and impunity, which the Devil promiſes them; though, as I ſaid above, he is a bite in that too, for he cannot perform the condition: however, I ſay he promiſes boldly, and they believe him; and for this privilege in wickedneſs, they conſent that he ſhall come and fetch them for his own at ſuch or ſuch a time.

This is the ſtate of the caſe, in the general acceptation of it. I do not really ſay it is ſo; nay it is even an inconſiſtency in itſelf, for one would think they need not capitulate with the Devil to be ſo and ſo ſuperlatively wicked, and give him ſuch a price for it, ſeeing, unleſs we have a wrong notion of him, he is naturally inclined, as well as avowedly willing, to have all men be as ſuperlatively wicked as poſſibly they can, muſt neceſſarily be always ready to iſſue out his licences gratis, as far as his authority will go in the caſe; and therefore I do not ſee how the wretches that deal with him ſhould article with him for a price; but ſuppoſe, for argument ſake, that it is ſo, then the next thing is, ſome capital crime follows the contract; and then the wretch is forſaken, for then the Devil cannot protect him as he promiſed, ſo he is truſſed up, and like Coleman at the gallows, he exclaims, "That there is no truth in Devils!"

It may be true, however, that under the powerful guard and protection of the Devil, men do ſometimes go a great way in crime, and that perhaps further in theſe our days of boaſted morals, than was known among our fathers. The only difference that I meet with between the ſons of Belial in former days and thoſe of our age, ſeems to be in the Devil's management, not in theirs; the ſum of which amounts to this, that Satan ſeems to act with more cunning, and they with leſs; for in the former ages of Satan's dominion, he had much buſineſs upon his hands; all his art and engines, and engineers alſo were kept fully employed to wheedle, allure, betray, and circumvent people, and draw them into crimes; and they found him, as we may ſay, a full employment. I doubt not he was called the Tempter on that very account: but the caſe ſeems quite altered now; the tables are turned. Then the Devil tempted men to ſin; but now in ſhort, they tempt the Devil: men puſh into crimes before he puſhes them, they

out ſhoot him in his own bow, out run him on his own ground, and, as we ſay of ſome hot-ſpurs who ride poſt, they whip the poſt boy. In a word, the Devil ſeems to have no buſineſs now but to ſit ſtill and look on.

This, I muſt confeſs, ſeems to intimate ſome ſecret compact between the Devil and them; but then it looks not as if they had contracted with the Devil, for leave to ſin, but that the Devil had contracted with them that they ſhould ſin ſo and ſo, up to ſuch a degree, and that without giving him the trouble of daily ſolicitation, private management, and artful ſcrewing up their paſſions, their affections, and their moſt retired faculties, as he was before obliged to do.

This alſo appears more agreeable to the nature of the thing, and as it is a moſt exquiſite part of Satan's cunning, ſo it is an undoubted teſtimony of his ſucceſs. If it was not ſo, he could never bring his kingdom to ſuch a height of abſolute power as he has done. This alſo ſolves ſeveral difficulties in the affair of the world's preſent way of ſinning, which otherwiſe it would be very hard to underſtand; as particularly, how ſome eminent men of quality among us, whoſe upper rooms are not extraordinary well furniſhed in other caſes, yet are ſo witty in their wickedneſſes, that they gather admirers by hundreds and thouſands; who, however heavy, lumpiſh, ſlow, and backward, even by nature and in force of conſtitution, in better things, yet in their race, Devil ward, they are of a ſudden grown nimble, light of foot, and out-run all their neighbours; fellows that are as empty of ſenſe as beggars are of honeſty, and as far from brains as a whore is of modeſty; on a ſudden you ſhall find them dip into Polemics, ſtudy Michael Servetus, Socinus, and the moſt learned of their diſciples; they ſhall reaſon againſt all religion as ſtrongly as a philoſopher; blaſpheme with ſuch a keenneſs of wit, and ſatirize God and eternity with ſuch a brightneſs of fancy, as if the ſoul of a Rocheſter, or a Hobbs, was tranſmigrated into them, in a little length of time more they banter heaven, burleſque the Trinity, and jeſt with every ſacred thing; and all ſo ſharp, ſo ready, and ſo terrible witty, as if they were born buffoons, and were ſingled out by nature to be champions for the Devil.

Whence can all this come? How is the change wrought? Who but the Devil can inject wit, in ſpite of natural dulneſs; create brains, fill empty heads and ſupply vacuities in the underſtanding? And will Satan do all this for nothing? No, no, he is too wiſe for that. I can never doubt a ſecret compact,

if there is ſuch a thing in nature. When I ſee a head where there is no head, ſenſe in poſſe where there is no ſenſe in eſſe, wit without brains, and ſight without eyes. It is all Devil-work. Could G—— write ſatires, who could neither read Latin nor ſpell Engliſh, like old Sir William Read, who wrote a book of optics, which, when it was printed, he did not know which was the right ſide uppermoſt, and which the wrong! Could this eminent uninformed beau turn atheiſt and make wiſe ſpeeches againſt that Being who made him a fool, if the Devil had not ſold him ſome wit in exchange for that trifle of his, called ſoul? Had he not bartered his inſide with that ſon of the morning, to have his tongue tipp'd with blaſphemy, he that knew nothing of a God, but only to ſwear by him, could never have ſet up for a wit, to burleſque his providence, and ridicule his government of the world.

But the Devil as he is god of this world, has one particular advantage; and that is, that when he has work to do, he very ſeldom wants inſtruments, with this circumſtance alſo, that the degeneracy of human nature ſupplies him: as the late king of France ſaid of himſelf, when they told him what a calamity was like to befall his kingdom by the famine: "Well, (ſays the king) then I ſhall not want ſoldiers." And it was ſo: want of bread ſupplied his army with recruits; ſo want of grace ſupplies the Devil with reprobates for his work.

Another reaſon why I think the Devil has made more bargains of that kind we ſpeak of in this age; is becauſe he ſeems to have laid by his cloven foot. All his old emiſſaries the tools of his trade, the engineers which he employed in his mines ſuch as witches, warlocks, magicians, conjurors, aſtrologers, and all the helliſh train or rabble of human devils, who did his drudgery in former days, ſeem to be out of work. I ſhall give you a fuller enumeration of them in the next chapter.

Theſe, I ſay ſeem to be laid aſide; not that his work is abated, or that his buſineſs with mankind for deluſion and deſtruction is not the ſenſe, or perhaps more than ever. But the Devil ſeems to have changed hands: the temper and genius of mankind is altered, and they are not to be taken by fright and horror as they were then, The figures of thoſe creatures were always diſmal and horrible, and that is it which I mean by the cloven foot; but now, wit, beauty, and gay things, are the ſum of his craft; he manages by the ſoft and the ſmooth, the fair and the artful, the kind and the cunning,—not by the frightful and the terrible, the ugly and the odious.

When the Devil for weighty diſpatches,
Wanted meſſengers cunning and bold,
He paſs'd by the beautiful faces,
And pick'd out the ugly and old;
Of theſe he made warlocks and witches,
To run on his errands by night,
Till the over wrought hag ridden wretches
Were as fit as the Devil to fright.
But whoever has been his adviſer,
As his kingdom increaſes in growth,
He now takes his meaſures much wiſer,
And traffics with beauty and youth.
Diſguis'd in the wanton and witty,
He haunts both the church and the court:
And ſometimes he viſits the city,
Where all the beſt chriſtians reſort.
Thus dreſs'd up in full maſquerade,
He the bolder can range up and down;
For he better can drive on his trade
In any one's name than his own.

CHAP. IX.

Of the tools the Devil works with, viz. witches, wizards or warlocks, conjurors, magicians, diviners, aſtrologers interpreters of dreams, tellers of fortunes, and, above all the reſt, his particular modern privy counſellors, called Wits and Fools.

THOUGH, as I have advanced in the foregoing chapter the Devil has very much changed hands, in his modern management of the world, and that inſtead of the rabble and long train of implements reckoned up above, he now walks about in beaux, beauties, wits, and fools: yet I muſt not omit to tell you that he has not diſmiſſed his former regiments, but like officers in time of peace, he keeps them all in half-pay; or like extraordinary men at the cuſtom houſe, they are kept at a call, to be ready to fill up vacancies, or to employ when he is more than ordinary full of buſineſs; and therefore it may not be amiſs to give ſome brief account of them from Satan's own memoirs, their performance being no inconſiderable part of his hiſtory.

Nor will it be an unprofitable digreſſion, to go back a little to the primitive inſtitution of all theſe orders, for they are very ancient; and, I aſſure you, it requires great knowledge of antiquity, to give a particular account of their original; I ſhall be very brief in it.

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In order then to this enquiry, you muſt know that it was not for want of ſervants that Satan took this ſort of people into his pay; he has, as I have obſerved in its place, millions of diligent devils at his call, whatever buſineſs, and however difficult, he had for them to do; but, as I have ſaid above, that our modern people are forwarder than even the Devil himſelf can deſire them to be; and that they come before they are called, run before they are ſent, and crowd themſelves into his ſervice; ſo it ſeems it was in thoſe early days, when the world was in one univerſal monarchy, under his dominion, as I have at large deſcribed in its place.

In thoſe days the wickedneſs of the world keeping a juſt pace with their ignorance, this inferior ſort of low priced inſtruments did the Devil's work mighty well; they drudged on his black art ſo laborioufly, and with ſuch good ſucceſs, that he found it was better to employ them as tools, to delude and draw in mankind, than to ſend his inviſible implements about, and oblige them to take ſuch ſhapes and dreſſes as were neceſſary, upon every trifling occaſion; which, perhaps, was more coſt than worſhip, more pains than pay.

Having then a ſet of theſe volunteers in his ſervice, the true Devil had nothing to do but to keep an exact correſpondence with them, and communicated ſome needful powers to them, to make them be and do ſomething extraordinary, and give them a reputation in their buſineſs; and theſe, in a word, did a great part of, nay, almoſt all the Devil's buſineſs in the world.

To this purpoſe gave he them power, if we may believe old Glanville, Baxter, Hicks, and other learned conſulters of oracles, to walk inviſible, to fly in the air, ride upon broomſticks, and other wooden gear, to interpret dreams, anſwer queſtions, betray ſecrets, to talk (gibberiſh) the univerſal language, to raiſe ſtorms, ſwell winds, bring up ſpirits, diſturb the dead, and torment the living, with a thouſand other needful tricks to amuſe the world, keep themſelves in veneration, and carry on the Devil's empire in the world.

The firſt nations among whom theſe infernal practices were found, were the Chaldeans; and that I may do juſtice in earneſt, as well as in jeſt, it muſt be allowed that the Chaldeans, or thoſe of them ſo called, were not conjurors, or magicians, but only philoſophers, and ſtudiers of nature, wiſe, ſober, and ſtudious men; and if we may believe ſome of our beſt writers of fame, Abraham was himſelf famous among them for ſuch magic,

magic, as Sir Walter Raleigh expreſſes it, *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit creatorum.*

Now, granting this, it is all to my purpoſe; namely, that the Devil drew theſe wiſe men in, to ſearch after more knowledge then nature could inſtruct them in; and the knowledge of the true God, being at that time ſunk very low, he debauched them all with dreams, apparitions, conjurings, &c. till he ruined the juſt notions they had, and made Devils of them all, like himſelf.

The learned Senenſis, ſpeaking of this Chaldean kind of learning, gives us an account of five ſorts of them: you will pardon me for being ſo grave as to go this length back.

1. Chaſcedin, or Chaldeans, properly ſo called, being aſtronomers.
2. Aſaphim, or magicians; ſuch were Zoroaſtres, and Balaam the ſon of Beor.
3. Chatumin, or interpreters of dreams, and hard ſpeeches, inchanters &c.
4. Mecaſphim, or witches, called at firſt, prophets, afterwards maleſici, venefici poiſoners.
5. Gazarim, or aruſpices, and diviners, ſuch as divined, by the entrails of beaſts, the liver in particular, mentioned in Ezekiel; or, as others called them, augurs.

Now, as to all theſe, I ſuppoſe I may do them no wrong, if I ſay, however juſtifiable they were in the beginning, the Devil got them all into his ſervice at laſt: and that brings me to my text again, from which the reſt was a degreſſion.

1. The Chaſcedin, or Chaldean aſtronomers, turned aſtrologers, fortune-tellers, calculaters of nativities, and vile deluders of the people, as if the wiſdom of the holy God was in them, as Nebuchadnezzar ſaid of Daniel, on that very account.
2. Aſaphim, or magi, or magicians: Sixtus Senenſis ſays, they were ſuch as wrote by covenant with devils, but turned to it from their wiſdom, which was to ſtudy the practical parts of natural philoſophy, working admirable effects by the mutual application of natural cauſes.
3. The Chatumin, from being reaſoners, or diſputers upon difficult points in philoſophy, became inchanters and conjurers. So,
4. The Mecaſphim, or prophets, they turned to be ſorcerers, raiſers of ſpirits, ſuch as wounded by an evil eye, and by bitter curſes, and were afterwards famed for having

ving familiar converſe with the Devil, and were called witches.

5. The Gazarim, from the bare obſerving of the good and bad omens, by the entrails of beaſts, flying of birds, &c. were turned to ſacriſts or prieſts of the Heathen idols, and ſacrificers.

Thus, I ſay, firſt or laſt, the Devil engroſſed all the wiſe men of the Eaſt, for ſo they are called; made them all his own; and by them he worked wonders, that is he filled the world with lying wonders, as if wrought by theſe men, when indeed it was all his own, from beginning to end, and ſet on foot merely to propagate deluſion, impoſe upon blinded and ignorant men; the god of this world blinded their minds, and they were led away by the ſubtility of the Devil, to ſay no worſe of it, till they became devils themſelves, as to mankind; for they carried on the Devil's work upon all occaſions, and the race of them ſtill continue in other nations, and ſome of them among ourſelves, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

The Arabians followed the Chaldeans in this ſtudy, while it was kept within its due bounds, and after them the Egyptians; and among the latter we find that Jannes and Jambres were famous for their leading Pharaoh, by their pretended magic performances, to reject the real miracles of Moſes; and hiſtory tells us of ſtrange pranks the wiſe men, the magicians, and the ſoothſayers played, to delude the people in the moſt early ages of the world.

But, as I ſay, now, the Devil had improved himſelf ſo he did then; for the Grecian and the Roman heathen rites coming on, they out-did all the magicians and ſoothſayers, by eſtabliſhing the Devil's lying oracles, which, as a maſter-piece of hell, did the Devil more honour, and brought more homage to him than ever he had before, or could arrive to ſince.

Again, as by the ſetting up the oracle all the magicians and ſoothſayers grew out of credit; ſo at the ceaſing of thoſe oracles, the Devil was fain to go back to the old game again, and take up with the agency of witches, divinations, inchantments, and conjurings, as I hinted before, anſwerable to the four ſorts mentioned in the ſtory of Nebuchadnezzar; viz. Magicians, Aſtrologers, the Chaldeans, and the ſoothſayers; How theſe began to be out of requeſt I have mentioned already: but as the Devil has not quite given them over, only laid them aſide for the preſent, we may venture to aſk what they were, and what uſe he made of them when he did employ them.

The truth is, I think as it was a very mean employment for any thing that wears a human countenance to take up; ſo I muſt acknowledge, I think, it was a mean low-priced buſineſs for Satan to take up with; below the very Devil; below his dignity as an angelic, though condemned creature; below him even as a Devil, to go talk to a parcel of ugly, deformed, ſpightful, malicious old women; to give them power to do miſchief, who never had a will, after they entered into the ſtate of old womanhood, to do any thing elſe: Why the Devil always choſe the uglieſt old women he could find; whether wizardiſm made them ugly, that were not ſo before; and whether the uglineſs as it was a beauty in witchcraft, did not increaſe according to the meritorious performance in the black trade? Theſe are all queſtions of moment to be decided (if human learning can arrive to ſo much perfection) in ages to come.

Some ſay the evil eye, and the wicked look, were parts of the inchantment; and that the witches, when they were in the height of their buſineſs, had a powerful influence with both; that by looking upon any perſon they could bewitch them, and make the Devil, as the Scots expreſs it, ride through them booted and ſpurred; and that hence came that very ſignificant ſaying, to look like a witch.

The ſtrange work which the Devil has made in the world, by this ſort of his agents, called witches, is ſuch and ſo extravagantly wild, that except our hope that moſt of theſe tales happen not to be true, I know not how any one could be eaſy to live near a widow, after ſhe was fifty and five.

All the other ſort of emiſſaries which Satan employs, comes ſhort of theſe. Ghoſts and apparitions ſometimes come and ſhew themſelves on particular accounts; and ſome of thoſe particulars reſpect doing juſtice, repairing wrongs, preventing miſchief; ſometimes in matters very conſiderable, and on things ſo neceſſary to public benefit, that we are tempted to believe they proceed from ſome vigilant ſpirit, who wiſhes us well; but, on the other hand, theſe witches are never concerned in any thing but miſchief; nay, if what they do pretend good to one, it iſſues in hurt to many: the whole tenor of their lives, their deſign in general is to do miſchief, and they are only employed in miſchief, and nothing elſe: how far they are furniſhed with ability ſuitable to the horrid will they are veſted with, remains to be deſcribed.

Theſe witches, it is ſaid, are furniſhed with power ſuitable to

to the occaſion that is before them, and paticularly that which deſerves to be conſidered; as prediction and fortelling events, which, I inſiſt, the author of witchcraft is not accompliſhed with himſelf, nor can he communicate it to any other: How then witches come to be able to fortell things to come, which, it is ſaid, the Devil himſelf cannot know, and which, as I have ſhewn, it is evident he does not know himſelf, is yet to be determined. That witches do fortell, is certain, from the witch at Endor, who fortold things to Saul which he knew not before, namely that he ſhould be ſlain in battle the next day, which accordingly came to paſs.

There are, however, notwithſtanding this particular caſe, many inſtances wherein the Devil has not been able to fortell approaching events, and that in things of the utmoſt conſequence; and he has given certain fooliſh or falſe anſwers in in ſuch caſes. The Devil's prieſts, which were ſummoned in by the prophet Elijah, to decide the diſpute between God and Baal, had the Devil been able to have informed them of it, would certainly have received notice from him of what was intended againſt them by Elijah; that is to ſay, that they would be all cut in pieces; for Satan was not ſuch a fool as not know, that Baal was a non-entity, a nothing, at beſt a dead man, periſhed and rotting in his grave; for Baal was Bel, or Belus, an ancient king of the Aſſyrian monarchy; and he could no more anſwer by fire, to conſume the ſacrifice, than he could raiſe himſelf from the dead.

But the prieſts of Baal were left of their maſter to their juſt fate, namely, to be a ſacrifice to the fury of a deluded people: Hence I infer his inability; for it would have been very unkind and ungrateful in him not to have anſwered them, if he had been able. There is a another argument raiſed here moſt juſtly againſt the Devil, with relation to his being under reſtraint, and that of greater eminence than we imagine; and it is drawn from this very paſſage, thus: It is not to be doubted but that Satan, who has much of the element put into his hands, as prince of the air, had a power, or was able, potentially ſpeaking, to have anſwered Baal's prieſts by fire; fire being, in virtue of his airy principallity, a part of his dominion; but he was certainly with-held by the ſuperior hand which gave him that dominion, I mean, with-held for the occaſion only: So in another caſe, it was plain that Baalam, who was one of thoſe ſort of Chaldeans mentioned above, who dealt in divinations and inchantments, was with-held from curſing Iſrael.

Some are of opinion, that Baalam was not a wizard, or a dealer with the Devil; becauſe it ſaid of himſelf, or rather he ſays it of himſelf, that he ſaw the viſions of God, Numb. xxiv. 16. "He hath ſaid, who heard the words of God, and knew "the knowledge of the Moſt High, which ſaw the viſion of "the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes "open:" Hence they alledge he was one of their magi, which St. Auguſtine ſpeaks of, *de divinatione*, who, by the ſtudy of nature, and by the contemplation of created beings, came to the knowledge of the Creator; and that Baalam's fault was, that, being tempted by the rewards and honours that the king promiſed him, he intended to have curſed Iſrael; but when his eyes were opened, and that he ſaw they were God's own people, he durſt not do it; they will have it therefore, that, except as above, Balaam was a good man, or at leaſt, that he had the knowledge of the true God, and the fear of that God upon him; and that he honeſtly declares this, Numb. xxii. 18. "If Balak would give me his houſe "full of ſilver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the "Lord my God:" Where though he is called a falſe prophet by ſome, he evidently owns God, and aſſumes a property in himſelf, as other prophets did; my God, and I cannot go beyond his orders; but that which gives me a better opinion of Balaam than all this is his plain prophecy of Chriſt, chap. xxiv. 17. where he calls him the ſtar of Jacob; and declares, "I ſhall ſee him, but not now; I ſhall behold him, "but not nigh; there ſhall come a ſtar out of Jacob, and a "ſceptre ſhall riſe out of Iſrael, and ſhall ſmite the corners of "Moab, and deſtroy all the children of Seth;" all which expreſs not a knowledge only, but a faith in Chriſt; but I have done preaching; this is all by the bye; I return to my buſineſs, which is the hiſtory.

There is another piece of dark practice here, which lies between Satan and his particular agents, and which they muſt give us anſwer to, when they can, which, I think, will not be in haſte; and that is, about the obſequious Devil ſubmitting to be called up into viſibility, whenever an old woman has her hand croſſed with a white ſixpence, as they call it: One would think that, inſtead of theſe vile things, called witches, being ſold to the Devil, the Devil was really ſold for a ſlave to them; for how far ſoever Satan's reſidence is off this ſtate of life, they have power, it ſeems, to fetch him from home, and oblige him to come at their call.

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I can give little account of this, only that indeed ſo it is; nor is the thing ſo ſtrange in itſelf, as the methods to do it are mean, fooliſh, and ridiculous; as making a circle, and dancing in it, pronouncing ſuch and ſuch words, ſaying the Lord's prayer backward, and the like. Now, is this agreeable, to the dignity of the prince of the air, or atmoſphere, that he ſhould be commanded forth, with no more pomp or ceremony, than that of muttering a few words, ſuch as the old witches and he agree about? or is there ſomething elſe in it, which none of us, or themſelves underſtand?

Perhaps, indeed, he is always with thoſe people called witches and conjurers, or, at leaſt, ſome of his campvolant are always preſent; and ſo, upon the leaſt call of the wizard, it is but putting off the miſty cloak, and ſhewing themſelves.

Then we have a piece of mock pageantry in bringing thoſe things called witches or conjurers to juſtice; that is, firſt, to know if a woman be a witch, throw her into a pond, and if ſhe be a witch ſhe will ſwim, and it is not in her power to prevent it; if ſhe does all ſhe can to ſink herſelf, it will not do, ſhe will ſwim like a cork. Then, that rope will not hang a witch, but you muſt get a withe, a green oſier; and if you nail a horſe ſhoe on the ſill of the door, ſhe cannot come into the houſe, or go out, if ſhe be in; theſe, and a thouſand more, too ſimple to be believed, and yet are ſo vouched, ſo taken for granted, and ſo univerſally received for truth, that there is no reſiſting them without being thought atheiſtical.

What methods to take, to know who are witches, I really know not; but, on the other hand, I think there are variety of methods to be uſed, to know who are not. W—— G——, Eſq.; is a man of fame; his parts are great, becauſe his eſtate is ſo: he has threeſcore and eight lines of Virgil by rote, and they take up many of the intervals of his merry diſcourſes; he has juſt as many witty ſtories to pleaſe ſociety; when they are well told, once over, he begins again, and ſo he lives in a round of wit and learning; he is a man of great ſimplicity and ſincerity; you muſt be careful not to miſtake my meaning, as to the word ſimplicity; ſome take it to mean honeſty, and ſo do I; only that it has a negative attending it, in his particular caſe: in a word, W—— G—— is an honeſt man, and no conjurer; a good character, I think; and, without impeachment to his underſtanding, he may be a man of worth for all that. Take the other ſex; there the Lady H—— is

another diſcovery; bleſs us! what charms in that face! How bright thoſe eyes! How flowing white her breaſts! How ſweet her voice! add to all, how heavenly, divinely good her temper! How inimitable her behaviour! How ſpotleſs her virtue! How perfect her innocence! And, to ſum up her character, we may add, that Lady H—— is no witch. Sure none of our beau-critics will be ſo unkind now, as to cenſure me in thoſe honeſt deſcriptions, as if I meant that my good friend W—— G—— Eſq.; or my adored angel, the bright, the charming Lady H—— were fools; but what will not thoſe ſavages, called Critics, do, whoſe barbarous nature inclines them to trample on the brighteſt characters, and to cavil on the cleareſt impreſſions?

It might be expected of me, however, in juſtice to my friends, and to the bright characters of abundance of gentlemen of this age, who, by depth of their politics and the height of their elevations, might be ſuſpected, and might give us room to charge them with ſubterranean intelligence; I ſay, it might be expected that I ſhould clear up their fame, and aſſure the world concerning them even by name, that they are no conjurers; that they do not deal with the Devil; at leaſt, not by the way of witchcraft and divination; ſuch as Sir T——k, E—— B——, Eſq; my Lord Homily, Colonel Swagger, Jeoffry Wellwith, Eſq; Captain Harry Godeeper; Mr Welcome Woollen, citizen and merchant-tailor of London; Henry Cadaver, Eſq: the D—— of Caerfilly; the Marquis of Sillyhoo; Sir Edward Through-and-through, Bart. and a world of fine gentlemen more, whoſe great heads and weighty underſtandings, have given the world ſuch occaſion to challenge them with being, at leaſt, deſcended from the magi, and, perhaps, engaged with old Satan, in his politics and experiments; but I, that have ſuch good intelligence among Satan's miniſters of ſtate, as is neceſſary to the preſent undertaking, am thereby well able to clear up their characters; and I doubt not but they will value themſelves upon it, and acknowledge their obligations to me, for letting the world know, the Devil does not pretend to have had any buſineſs with them, or have enrolled them in the liſt of his operators: in a word that none of them are conjurers; Upon which teſtimony of mine, I expect they will be no longer charged with, or ſo much as ſuſpected of having an unlawful quantity of wit, or having any ſorts of it about them, that are contraband or prohibited; but that, for the future, they

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paſs unmoleſted, and be taken for nothing but what they are, viz. very honeſt worthy Gentlemen.

CHAP. X.

Of the various methods the Devil takes to converse with Mankind.

HAVING ſpoken ſomething of perſons, and particularly of ſuch as the Devil thinks fit to employ in his affairs in the world, it comes next of courſe to ſay ſomething of the manner how he communicates his mind to them, and by them, to the reſt of his acquaintance in the world.

I take the Devil to be under great difficulties in his affairs on his part, occaſioned eſpecially by the bounds which are ſet him, or which policy obliges him ſet to himſelf, in his acceſs to the converſing with mankind; it is evident he is not permitted to fall on them with force and arms, that is to ſay, to muſter up his infernal troops, and attack them with fire and ſword; if he was looſe, to act in this manner, as he was able, by his own ſeraphic power, to have deſtroyed the whole race, and even the earth they dwelt upon, ſo he would certainly, and long ago, have effectually done it: his particular intereſts and inclinations are well enough known.

But, in the next place, as he is thus reſtrained from violence, ſo prudentials reſtrain him, in all his other actings with mankind; and, being confined to ſtratagems, and ſoft, ſtill methods, ſuch as perſuaſion, allurements, feeding the appetite, prompting, and then gratifying corrupt deſires, and the like; he finds it for his purpoſe not to appear in perſon, except very rarely, and then in diſguiſe; but to act all the reſt in the dark, under the vizor of art and craft, making uſe of perſons and methods concealed, or at leaſt not fully underſtood or diſcovered.

As to the perſons whom he employs, I have taken ſome pains, you ſee, to diſcover ſome of them; but the methods he uſes with them, either to inform and inſtruct, and give orders to them, or to converſe with other people by them, theſe are very particular, and deſerve ſome place in our memoirs; particularly as they may ſerve, to remove ſome of our miſtaken, and to take off ſome of the frightful ideas we are apt to entertain, in prejudice of this great manager; as if he was no more to be matched in his politics than he would be to be matched in his power, if it was let looſe which if ſo much a

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miſtake, that on the contrary, we read of ſeveral people, that have abuſed and cheated the Devil, a thing which, I cannot ſay, is very honeſt or juſt, notwithſtanding the old Latin proverb, *Fallere, fallentem non est fraus* (which men conſtrue, or rather render, by way of banter upon Satan,) "it is no ſin to cheat the Devil;" which, for all that, upon the whole, I deny; and alledge, that, let the Devil act how he will by us, we ought to deal fairly by him.

But to come to the buſineſs without circumlocutions; I am to enquire how Satan iſſues out his orders, gives his inſtructions, and fully delivers his mind to his emiſſaries, of whom I mentioned ſome in the title to chap. ix. In order to this, you muſt form an idea of the Devil's ſitting in great ſtate, in open campaign, with all his legions about him, in the height of the atmoſphere; or, if you will at a certain diſtance from the atmoſphere, and above it, that the plan of his encampment might not be hurried round its own axis, with the earth's diurnal motion, which might be ſome diſturbance to him.

By this fixed ſituation, the earth performing its rotation he has every part and parcel of it brought to a direct oppoſition to him, and conſequently to his view once in twenty four hours: The laſt, time I was there, if I remember right, he had this quarter of the world, which we call Chriſtendom, juſt under his eye; and the motion is not ſo ſwift, but that his piercing optics can take a ſtrict view of it *en passant:* for the circumference of it being but twenty one thouſand miles, and its circular motion being full twenty four hours, performing, he has ſomething more than an hour to view every thouſand miles, which, to his ſupernatural penetration, is not worth naming.

As he thus takes a daily view of all the circle, and an hourly view of the parts, he is fully maſter of all tranſactions, at leaſt ſuch as are done above board by all mankind: and then he diſpatches his emiſſaries, or aid du camps, to every part, with his orders and inſtructions; now theſe emiſſaries, you are to underſtand, are not the witches and diviners who I ſpoke of above, for I call them alſo emiſſaries; but they are all Devils, or (as you know they are called) Devil's angels; and theſe may, perhaps, come and converſe perſonally with the ſub-emiſſaries I mentioned, to be ready for their ſupport and aſſiſtance, on all occaſions of buſineſs; theſe are thoſe devils which the witches are ſaid to raiſe; for we can hardly ſuppoſe the maſter Devil comes himſelf, at the ſummons of every ugly old woman.

Theſe run about into every nook and corner, wherever Satan's buſineſs calls them, and are never wanting to him; but are the moſt diligent devils imaginable; like the turkiſh Chiaux, they no ſooner receive their errand but they execute it with the utmoſt alacrity; and as to their ſpeed, it may be truly written as a motto, upon the head of every individual devil.

Non indiget calcaribus.

Theſe are thoſe, whom, they tell us, our witches, ſorcerers wizards, and ſuch ſorts of folks converſe freely with; and are therefore called their familiars; and as they tell us, come to them in human ſhapes, talk to them with articulate plain voices, as if men; and that yet the ſaid witches, &c. know them to be devils.

Hiſtory has not yet enlightened us in this part of uſeful knowledge, or at leaſt not ſufficiently for a diſcription of the perſons or habits of theſe ſorts of appearances; as what ſhapes they take, what language they ſpeak, and what particular works they perform; ſo we muſt refer it to farther inquiry; but if we may credit hiſtory, we are told many famous ſtories of thoſe appearances; for example, the famous Mother Lakeland, who was burnt for a witch at Ipſwich, anno 1646, confeſſed at the time of her execution, or a little before it, that ſhe had frequent converſation with the Devil himſelf: that ſhe being very poor, and withal of a deviliſh, paſſionate, cruel, and revengeful diſpoſition before, uſed to wiſh ſhe had it in her power to do ſuch and ſuch miſchievous things to ſome that ſhe hated; and that the Devil himſelf, who it ſeems knew her temper, came to her one night as ſhe lay in her bed, and was between ſleeping and waking, and, ſpeaking in a deep hollow voice, told her, "If ſhe would ſerve him in ſome things he employed her to do, ſhe ſhould have her will of all her enemies, and ſhould want for nothing:" that ſhe was much afraid at firſt; but he ſoliciting her very often, bade her not be afraid of him, and ſtill urged her to yield; and, as ſhe ſays, ſtruck his claw into her hand; and tho' it did not hurt her, made it bleed, and with the blood wrote the covenant, that is to ſay, the bargain between them. Being aſked what was in it, and whether he required her to curſe or deny God or Chriſt? ſhe ſaid no.

N. B. I do not find ſhe told them, whether the Devil wrote it with a pen, or whether on paper or parchment, or whether ſhe ſigned it or not; but it ſeems he carried it away with

him. I ſuppoſe if Satan's regiſter was examined, it might be found among the archieves of hell, the rolls of his *acta publica*; and when his hiſtoriagrapher-royal publiſhes them, we may look for it among them.

Then he furniſhed her with three devils, (to wait upon her, I ſuppoſe); for ſhe confeſſed they were to be employed in her ſervice. They attended in the ſhapes of two little dogs and a mole. The firſt ſhe bewitched was her huſband, by which he lay a great while in miſery, and died: then ſhe ſent to one Captain Beal, and burnt a new ſhip of his juſt built, which had never been at ſea. Theſe, and many other horrid things, ſhe did, and confeſſed: and having been twenty years a witch, at laſt the Devil left her, and ſhe was burnt, as ſhe deſerved.

That ſome extraordinary occaſions may bring theſe agents of the Devil, nay, ſometimes the Devil himſelf, to aſſume human ſhapes, and appear to other people, we cannot doubt. He did thus in the caſe of our Saviour as a tempter; and ſome think he did ſo to Manaſſes as a familiar, whom the Scripture charges with ſorcery, and having a familiar or Devil. Fame tells us that St Dunſtan frequently converſed with him, and finally took him by the noſe, and ſo of others.

But in theſe modern ages of the world, he finds it much more to his purpoſe, to work under-ground, as I have obſerved, and to keep upon the reſerve; ſo that we have no authentic accounts of his perſonal appearance, but what are very ancient, or very remote from our faith, as well as our inquiry.

It ſeems to be a queſtion that would bear ſome debating, Whether all apparitions are not devils, or from the Devil? But there being ſo many of theſe apparitions, which we call ſpirits, which really aſſume ſhapes, and make appearances in the world, upon ſuch accounts, as, we know, Satan himſelf ſcorns to be employed in, that I muſt diſmiſs the queſtion in favour of the Devil; aſſuring them, that as he never willingly did any good in his life, ſo he would be far from giving himſelf the trouble of ſetting one foot into the world on ſuch an errand; and for that reaſon, we may be aſſured, thoſe certain apparitions, which we are told came to detect a murderer in Gloceſterſhire, and others who appeared to prevent the ruining an orphan, for want of finding a deed that was not loſt, was certainly ſome other power equally concerned, and not the Devil.

On the other hand, neither will it follow that Satan never appears in human ſhape; for though every apparition may not be

be the Devil, yet it does not follow that the Devil never makes an apparition. All I ſhall ſay to it is, as I have mentioned before, that, generally ſpeaking, the Devil finds it more for his purpoſe to have his intereſt propagated another way, namely, in private; his perſonal appearances are reſerved for things only of extraordinary conſequence, and, as I may ſay, of evident neceſſity, where his honour is concerned, and where his intereſt could be carried on no other way; nor forgetting to take notice that this is very ſeldom.

It remains to enquire, what then thoſe things are which we make ſo much ſtir about, and which are called apparitions, or ſpirits aſſuming human ſhapes, and ſhewing themſelves to people on particular occaſions? Whether they are evil ſpirits or good? And though, indeed, this is out of my way at this time, and does not relate at all to the Devil's hiſtory, yet I thought it not amiſs to mention it: 1. Becauſe, as I have ſaid I do not wholly exclude Satan from all concern in ſuch things: and, 2. Becauſe I ſhall diſmiſs the queſtion with ſo very ſhort an anſwer, namely, that we may determine which are, and which are not the Devil's, by the errands they come upon: every one to his own buſineſs. If it comes on a good errand, you may certainly acquit the Devil of it, conclude him innocent, and that he has no hand in it: If it comes on a wicked and deviliſh errand, you may even take him up upon ſuſpicion; it is ten to one but you find him at the bottom of it.

Next to apparitions, we find mankind diſturbed by abundance of little odd reſerved ways, which the Devil is ſhrewdly ſuſpected of having a hand in; ſuch as dreams, noiſes, voices, &c. ſmells of brimſtone, candles burning blue, and the like.

As to dreams, I have nothing to ſay in Satan's prejudice at all there. I make no queſtion but he deals very much in that kind of intelligence: and why ſhould he not? We know Heaven itſelf formerly converſed very often with the greateſt of men by the ſame method; and the Devil is known to mimic the methods, as well as the actions of his Maker. Whether Heaven has not quite left off that way of working, is not certain; but we pretty well know the Devil has not left it; and I believe ſome inſtances may be given, where his worſhip has been really ſeen and talked to in ſleep, as much as if the perſon had been awake with his eyes open.

Theſe are to be diſtinguiſhed too, pretty much by the goodneſs or badneſs of the ſubject. How often have men committed murder, robbery, and adultery in a dream; and at the

ſame

ſame time; except an extraordinary agitation of the ſoul, and expreſſed by extraordinary noiſes in the ſleep, by violent ſweating, and other ſuch way, the head has never been removed from the pillow, or the body ſo much as turned in the bed!

Whether, in ſuch caſes, the ſoul, with all the paſſions and affections being agitated, and given their full aſſent to the facts of what kind ſoever, the man is not as guilty as if the ſins ſo dreamed of his committing, had been actually committed? Though it be no doubt to me but that it is ſo, yet, as it is foreign to the preſent affair, and not at all relating to the Devil's hiſtory, I leave it to the reverend doctors of the church, as properly belonging to them to decide.

I knew a perſon whom the Devil ſo haunted with naked women, fine beautiful ladies in bed with him, and ladies of his acquaintance too, offering their favours to him, and all in his ſleep, that he ſeldom ſlept without ſome ſuch entertainment. The particulars are too groſs for my ſtory; but he gave me ſeveral long accounts of his night amours; and being a man of a virtuous life and good morals, it was the greateſt ſurpriſe to him imaginable; for you cannot doubt but that the cunning Devil made every thing to be acted to the life with him, and in a manner the moſt wicked. He owned with grief to me, that the very firſt attack the Devil made upon him, was with a very beautiful lady of his acquaintance whom he had been really ſomething freer than ordinary within their common converſation. The lady he brought to him in a poſture for wickedneſs; and wrought up his inclination ſo high in his ſleep, that he, as he thought, actually went about to debauch her, ſhe not reſiſting; but that he waked in the very moment to his particular ſatisfaction.

He was greatly concerned at this part, namely, that he really gave the conſent of his will to the fact; and wanted to know, if he was not as guilty of adultery as if he had lain with her. Indeed he decided the queſtion againſt himſelf ſo forcibly, that I, who was of the ſame opinion before, had nothing to ſay againſt it. However I confirmed him in it, by aſking him thoſe queſtions:

1. Whether he did not think the Devil had the chief hand in ſuch a dream? He anſwered, "It could certainly be nobody elſe: he muſt be the Devil?"
2. I then aſked him, what reaſon the Devil could have for it, if his conſent to the fact in ſleep had not been criminal? "That is true indeed, (ſays he) I am anſwered?"

But

But then he aſked another queſtion, which I confeſs is not eaſy to anſwer, namely, How he ſhould prevent being ſerved ſo again.

Nor could all my divinity, or his own, keep the Devil from attacking him again. On the other hand, as I have ſaid, he worried him to the degree, that he injured his health, bringing naked women to him; ſometimes one, ſometimes another, —ſometimes in one poſture of lewdneſs, ſometimes in another; ſometimes into his very arms,—ſometimes with ſuch additions, as I am not merry enough, and ſometimes ſuch as I am not wicked enough to put into your heads. The man indeed could not help it; and ſo the Devil was more faulty than he: but, as I hinted to him, he might bring his mind to ſuch a ſtated habit of virtue, as to prevent its aſſenting to any wicked motion even in ſleep, and that would be the way to put an end to the attempt; and this advice he reliſhed very well, and practiſed, I believe, with ſucceſs.

By this ſame method, the ſame Devil injects powerful incentitives to other crimes,——provokes avarice by laying a great quantity of gold in your view, and nobody preſent; giving you an opportunity to ſteal it, or ſome of it: at the ſame time, perhaps, knowing your circumſtances to be ſuch, as that you are at that time in great want of the money.

I knew another, who, being a tradeſman, and in great diſtreſs for money in his buſineſs, dreamed that he was walking all alone in a great wood, and that he met a little child with a bag of gold in its hand, and a fine necklace of diamonds on its neck. Upon the ſight, his wants preſently dictated him to rob the child, the little innocent creature, (juſt ſo he dreamed) not being able to reſiſt, or to tell who it was. Accordingly he conſented to take the money from the child, and then to take the diamond necklace from it too, and did ſo.

But the Devil, (a full teſtimony, as I told him, that it was the Devil,) not contented with that, hinted to him that perhaps the child might, ſome time or other know him, and ſingle him out, by crying, or pointing or ſome ſuch thing, eſpecially if he was ſuſpected, and ſhewn to it; and therefore it would be the better for him to kill the child, prompting him to kill it for his own ſafety, and that he need do no more but twiſt the neck of it a little, or cruſh it with his knee. He told me he ſtood debating with himſelf, whether he ſhould do ſo or not; but that in that inſtant, his heart ſtruck him with the word murder, and he entertained an horror of it, refuſed to do it, and immediately awaked.

He told me that when he waked, he found himſelf in ſo violent a ſweat, as he had never known the like; that his pulſe beat with that heat and rage, that it was like a palpitation of the heart to him; and that the agitation of his ſpirits was ſuch, that he was not fully compoſed in ſome hours; though the ſatisfaction and joy that attended him when he found it was but a dream, aſſiſted much to bring back his ſpirits to their due temperament.

It is neither my buſineſs or inclination to turn divine here, nor is the age I write to ſufficiently grave to reliſh a ſermon, if I was diſpoſed to preach, though they muſt allow the ſubject would very well bear it; but I ſhall only aſk them, if they think this is not the Devil, what do they think it is? If they believe it is the Devil they will act accordingly, I hope, or let it alone, as Satan and they can agree about it.

I ſhould not oblige the Devil over much whatever I might do to thoſe who read it, if I ſhould enter here upon a debate of intereſts, viz. to enquire whether the Devil has not a vaſt advantage upon mankind this way; and whether it is not much his intereſt to preſerve it? And if I prove the affirmative, I leave it to you to inquire, whoſe intereſt it is to diſappoint and ſupplant him.

In ſhort, I take dreams to be the ſecond beſt of the advantages the Devil has over mankind: the firſt I ſuppoſe you all know, viz. the treachery of the garriſon within. By dreams, he may be ſaid to get into the inſide of us without oppoſition; here he opens and locks without a key, and, like an enemy laying ſiege to a fortified city, Reaſon and Nature, the governors of the city, keep him out by day, and preſerve the garriſon true to their duty: but in the dark he gets in, and parleys with the garriſon, (the affections and paſſions); debauches their loyalty, ſtirring them up to diſloyalty and rebellion; ſo they betray their truſt, revolt, mutiny, and go over to the beſieger.

Thus he manages his intereſt, I ſay, and inſinuates himſelf into the inſide of us without our conſent, nay, without our knowledge; for whatever ſpeculation may do, it is evident demonſtration does not aſſiſt us to diſcover which way he gets acceſs to the ſoul, while the organ, tied up, and doſed with ſleep, has locked it up from action. That it is ſo, is clear; but how he does it, is a ſecret which I do not find the ancients or moderns have yet made a diſcovery of.

That Devil of a creature, Mother Lakeland, whoſe ſtory I mentioned

mentioned above, acknowledged that the firſt time the Devil attempted to draw her in to be a witch, was in a dream; and when ſhe conſented, ſhe ſaid ſhe was between ſleeping and waking, that is, ſhe did not know whether ſhe was awake or aſleep; and the cunning Devil it ſeems, was ſatisfied with her aſſent, given when ſhe was aſleep, or neither aſleep nor awake; ſo taking the advantage of her incapacity to act rationally.

The ſtories of her bewitching ſeveral people, and the manner in which they died, are ſo formidable and extravagant, that I care not to put any one's faith to the ſtretch about them, though publiſhed by authority and teſtified by abundance of witneſſes: but this is recorded in particular, and to my purpoſe, (whether from her own mouth or not, I do not ſay) namely, a deſcription of a witch, and difference between witches, and thoſe of Satan's other acquaintances, who act in his name.

1. They have conſulted and covenanted with a ſpirit or devil.
2. They have a deputy devil; ſometimes ſeveral, to ſerve and aſſiſt them.
3. Theſe they employ as they pleaſe; call them by name; and command their appearance in whatever ſhape they think fit.
4. They ſend them abroad to, or into the perſons whom they deſign to bewitch; whom they always torment and often murder them, as Mother Lakeland did ſeveral.

As to the difference between the ſeveral devils that appear, it relates to the office of the perſons who employ them; as conjurers, who ſeem to command the particular devil that waits upon them with more authority, and raiſe them or lay them at pleaſure, drawing circles, caſting figures, and the like: but the witch in a more familiar manner, whiſpers with the Devil, keeps him in a bag or ſack, ſometimes in her pocket, and the like: and, like Mr Faux, ſhews tricks with him.

But all theſe kinds deal much in dreams, talk with the Devil in their ſleep, and make other people talk with him in their ſleep too; and it is on this occaſion I mention it here. In ſhort, the Devil may well take this opportunity with mankind; for not half the world that came into his meaſures would comply if they were awake; but of that hereafter.

And yet his thus inſinuating himſelf by dreams does not ſeem ſufficient in my opinion, to anſwer the Devil's end, and to carry on his buſineſs; and therefore we muſt be forced to allow

allow him a kind of actual poſſeſſion, in particular caſes, and that in the ſouls of ſome people, by different methods from others. Luther is of the opinion, that the Devil gets a familiarity with ſome ſouls juſt at, or rather before their being embodied. As to the manner and methods how he gets in, that is another queſtion, and may be ſpoken of by itſelf: beſides, why may not he, who, at Satan's requeſt to enter into the herd of ſwine, ſaid, "Go," give the ſame commiſſion to poſſeſs a ſort of creatures ſo many degrees below the dignity of the Gadarenian ſwine, and open the door too? But as for that, when our Lord ſaid, "Go," the Devil never enquired which way he ſhould get in.

When then, I ſee nations, or indeed herds of nations, ſet on fire of hell, and as I may ſay, inflamed by the Devil—when I ſee towns, parties, factions, and rabbles of people viſibly poſſeſſed,—It is enough to me that the great Maſter of the devils has ſaid to him, "Go:" there is no need to enquire which way he finds open, or at what poſtern-gate he gets in. As to his appearing, it is plain he often gets in without appearing; and therefore the queſtion about his appearing, ſtill remains a doubt, and is not very eaſy to be reſolved.

In the Scripture we have ſome light into it, and that is all the help I find from antiquity; and it goes a great way to ſolve the phænomena of Satan's appearing. What I mean by the Scripture giving ſome light to it, is this: it is ſaid in ſeveral places, and of ſeveral perſons, God came to them in a dream. Gen. xx. 3. "God came to Abimelech in a dream by night." Gen. xxxi. 24. And came to Laban the Syrian in a dream. Matth. ii. 13. "The angel of the Lord appeared to Joſeph in a dream." Short comments are ſufficient to plain texts. Applying this to my friend, when he wanted to be ſatisfied relating to his dream, viz. how he ſhould come to dream ſuch wicked things? I told him in ſhort, the caſe was plain; the Devil came to him in a dream by night. How and in what manner he formed the wicked repreſentations, and ſpread debauched appearances before his fancy, by real whiſpers and voice, according to Milton, or by what other methods, the learned are not arrived to any certainty about it.

This leads me neceſſarily to enquire whether the Devil, or ſome of his agents, are not always in our company whether they make any viſible appearance or not? For my part I make no queſtion of it. How elſe could he come at the knowledge of

of what we do? for as I can allow him no preſcience at all, as, for many reaſons I have obſerved already, he muſt be able to ſee and know us, and what we are about, when we know nothing of him, or elſe he would know nothing of us and our affairs, which yet we find otherwiſe: and this gives him infinite advantage to influence our actions, to judge of our inclinations, and to bring our paſſion to claſh with our reaſon, as they often do, and get the better of it too.

All this he obtains, by his being able to walk about inviſible, and ſee when he is not ſeen, of which I have ſpoken already. Hence that moſt wiſe, and ſolid ſuggeſtion, that when the candles burn blue, the Devil is in the room; which great ſecret in nature, that you may more fully be convinced of its imaginary reality, I muſt tell you the following ſtory, which I ſaw in a letter directed to a particular friend. Take it word for word as in the letter, becauſe I do not make myſelf accountable for the facts; but take them *ad referendum*.

SIR,

WE had one day, very early in the morning, and for the moſt part of the day, a great deal of rain, with a high wind, and the clouds very thick and dark all day.

In the evening, the cloudy thick weather continued, though not the rain; when, being in a friend's houſe in ——— lane, London, and ſeveral ladies and ſome gentlemen in the room, beſides two or three ſervants, (for we had been eating) the following interlude happened for our entertainment:—When the cloth was taken away, two large candles were brought upon the table, and placed there, with ſome bottles and glaſſes for the gentlemen, who it ſeems were intending to drink and be very merry. Two large wax candles were alſo ſet on another table, the ladies being going to cards; there were alſo two large candles in ſcones over or near the chimney; and one more in a looking-glaſs ſcone on a pier by the window.

With all this apparatus, the company ſeparating, ſat down; the gentlemen at their table, and the ladies at theirs, to play as above; when, after ſome time, the gentleman of the houſe ſaid haſtily to the ſervant, "What a p—— ails the candles?" and turning to the ſervant, raps out an oath or two, and bids him ſnuff the candles, for they burnt as if the Devil was in the room.

The fellow going to ſnuff one of the candles ſnuffs it out; at which his maſter being in a paſſion, the fellow lights it a-

gain immediately at the other candle; and then being in a little hurry, going to ſnuff the other candle, ſnuffed that out too,

The firſt candle that was re[illegible]ted (as is uſual in ſuch caſes) burned dim and dull for a good while, and the other being) out the room was much darker than before; then a wench that ſtood by the ladies table, bawls out to her miſtreſs, "La! Madam, the candles burn blue!" An old lady that ſat by, ſays, "Aye, Betty, ſo they do." Upon this one of the ladies ſtarts up: "Mercy upon us! (ſays ſhe) what is the matter?" In this unlucky moment, another ſervant without orders, went to the great pier ſcone; and becauſe, as he thought he would be ſure to ſnuff the candle well, he offers to take it down; but very unhappily, I ſay, the hook came out, down falls the ſcone, candle and all, and the looking-glaſs broke all to pieces with a horrible noiſe. However, the candle falling out of the ſcone, did not go out, but lay on the floor burning dully, and, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, all on one ſide. Betty cries out again, "La! Madam, that candle burns blue too!" The very moment ſhe ſaid this, the footman that had thrown down the ſcone, ſays to his fellow ſervant, that came to his aſſiſtance, "I think the Devil is in the candles to night!" and away he runs out of the room for fear of his maſter.

The old lady, who, upon the maid Betty's notion of the candles burning blue, had her head juſt full of that old chimny corner ſtory, the candles burn blue when the ſpirits are in the room, heard the footman ſay the word DEVIL! but heard nothing elſe of what he ſaid. Upon this ſhe riſes up in a terrible fright, and cries out, that the footman ſaid the Devil was in the room! As ſhe was indeed frightened out of her wits, ſhe frighted the ladies moſt terribly; and they all ſtarted up together, down goes the card table, and put the wax candles out.

Mrs Betty, that had frighted them all, runs to the ſcone next the chimny; but that having a long ſnuff, ſhe cried out it burnt blue too, and ſhe durſt not touch it! In ſhort, though there were three candles left ſtill burning in the room, yet the ladies were all ſo frighted that they and the maids too, ran out of the parlour, ſcreaming like mad folks. The maſter, in a rage, kicked his firſt man out of the room, and the ſecond man was run out to avoid (as I ſaid before) the like; ſo that no ſervent was to be had, but all was in confuſion.

The two other gentlemen, who were ſitting at the firſt table, kept their ſeats compoſed and eaſy enough, only concerned to

ſee all the houſe in ſuch a fright. It was true they ſaid the candles turned dim, and very ouly; but they could not perceive they burnt blue, except one of thoſe over the chimney, and that on the table, which was re-lighted after the fellow had ſnuffed it out.

However, the maid, the old lady, and the footman that pulled down the ſcone, all inſiſt that the candles burned blue, and all pretended that the Devil was certainly in the room and was the occaſion of it, and they now came to me with the ſtory to deſire my opinion of it.

This puts me upon inquiry into the notion of candles burning blue when ſpirits are in the room; which upon all the ſearch into things that I am able to make, amounts to no more than this, that upon any extraordinary emiſſion of ſulphureous or of nitrous particles, either in a cloſe room, or in any place not very open, if the quantity be great, a candle or lamp, or any ſuch little blaze of fire, will ſeem to be, or to burn blue; and if then they can, prove that any ſuch effluvia attends, or is emitted from a ſpirit, then when Satan is at hand, it may be ſo.

But then it is begging the queſtion groſsly, becauſe, no man can aſſure us that the Devil has any ſulphureous particles about him.

It is true, the candles burn thus in mines and vaults, and damp places; and it is as true, that they will do ſo upon occaſion of very damp, ſtormy, and moiſt air, when an extraordinary quantity of vapours are ſuppoſed to be diſperſed abroad, as was the caſe when this happened; and if their was any thing of that in it on that Monday night, the candles might perhaps burn blue upon that occaſion but that the Devil was abroad upon any extraordinary buſineſs that night, that I cannot grant, unleſs I have ſome better teſtimony than the old lady that heard the footman's outcry but by halves, or than Mrs Betty, who firſt fancied the candles burned blue: ſo I muſt ſuſpend my judgement till I hear further.

This ſtory however, may ſolve a great many of thoſe things which paſs for apparitions in the world, and which are laid to the Devil's charge, though he really may know nothing of the matter: and this would bring me to defend Satan in many things, where in he may truly be ſaid to ſuffer wrongfully; and if I thought it would oblige him, I might ſay ſomething to his advantage this way: however I will venture a word or two for an injured Devil, take it as you will.

First, it is certain that as this inviſibility of the Devil is very much to our prejudice, ſo the doctrine of his viſibility is a great prejudice to him as we make uſe of it.

By his inviſibility he is certainly veſted with infinite advantages againſt us; while he can be preſent with us and we knew nothing of the matter, he informs himſelf of all our meaſures and arms himſelf in the beſt and moſt ſuitable manner to injure and aſſault us, as he can counteract all our ſecret concerted deſigns, diſappoint all our ſchemes, and except when heaven apparently concerns itſelf to over-rule him, can defeat all our enterprizes, break all our meaſures, and do us miſchief in allmoſt every part of our life; and all this, becauſe we are not as privy to his motions, as he is to ours.

But now for his viſibility and his real appearance in the world, and particularly among his diſciples and emiſſaries, ſuch as witches and wizards, demoniacs, and the like; here I think Satan has a great deal of loſs, ſuffers manifeſt injury, and has great injuſtice done him; and that therefore I ought to clear this matter up a little, if it be poſſible, to do juſtice to Satan, and ſet matters right in the world about him, according to that uſeful old maxim of ſetting the ſaddle upon the right horſe, or giving the Devil his due.

Firſt, as I have ſaid we are not to believe every idle head, who pretends even to converſe face to face with the Devil, and who tells us they have thus ſeen him, and been acquainted with him every day; many of theſe pretenders are manifeſt cheats; and however they would have the honour of a private intereſt in him and boaſt how they have him at their back; can call him away, and ſend him that, as they pleaſe: raiſe him, and lay him, when, and how, and as often as they find for their purpoſe; I ſay, whatever boaſts they make of this kind, they really have nothing of truth in them.

Now the injuries and injuſtice done to the Devil, in theſe caſes, are manifeſt; namely that they entitle the Devil to all the miſchief they are pleaſed to do in the world; and if they commit a murder, or a robbery, fire a houſe, or do any act of violence in the world, they preſently are ſaid to do it by the agency of the Devil, and the Devil helps them; ſo Satan bears the reproach and they have all the guilt: this is (1) A grand cheat upon the world; and (2) A notorious ſlander upon the Devil; and it would be a public benefit to mankind, to have ſuch would be devils as theſe turned inſide out, that we may know when the Devil was really at work among us, and when not

not; what miſchiefs were of his doing, and which were not; and that theſe fellows might not ſlip their necks out of the halter, by continually laying the blame of their wickedneſs upon the Devil.

Not that the Devil is not very willing to have his hand in any miſchief, or in all the miſchief that is done in the world; but there are ſome low priced rogueries that are too little for him, beneath the dignity of his operation, and which is really a ſcandle to the Devil to charge upon him. I remember the Devil had ſuch a cheat upon him in Eaſt Smithfield once, where a perſon pretended to converſe with the Devil face to face, and that in open day too, and to cauſe him to tell fortunes, fortel good and evil, &c diſcover ſtolen goods; tell who they were who ſtole them, and how to find them again; nay, and even to find out the thieves: but Satan was really ſlandered in the caſe; the fellow had no more to do with the Devil than other people, and perhaps not ſo much neither: this was one of thoſe they call cunning men, or at leaſt he endeavoured to paſs for ſuch an one; but it was all a cheat.

Beſides, what had the Devil to do to detect thieves, and reſtore ſtolen goods? Thieving and robbing, trick and cheat, are part of the craft of his agency, and of the employments which it is his buſineſs to encourage; they greatly miſtake him, who think he will aſſiſt any body in ſurpaſſing and detecting ſuch laudable arts, and ſuch diligent ſervants.

I will not ſay but the Devil, to draw theſe people, we call cunning men into a ſnare, and to puſh on his farther deſigns, may encourage them privately, and in a manner that they themſelves know nothing, to make uſe of his name, and abuſe the world about him, till at laſt they may really believe they do deal with the Devil, when indeed, it is only he who deals with them, and they know nothing of the matter.

In other caſes he may encourage them in theſe little frauds and cheats, and give them leave as above, to make uſe of his name, to bring them afterwards, and by degrees, to have a real acquaintance with him; ſo bringing their jeſt of their trade into earneſt, till at length, prompting them to commit ſome great villainy, he ſecures them to be his own, by their very fear of his leaving them to be expoſed to the world; that he puts a Jonathan Wild upon them, and makes them be the very wretches they only pretended to be before; ſo old Parſons of Clithroe, as fame tells us, was twenty five years a cunning man, and twenty-two years a wizard; that is to ſay,

for five and twenty years he was only pretending to deal with the Devil, when Satan and he had no manner of acquaintance, and he only put his legerdemain upon the people in the Devil's name, without his leave; but at length, the Devil's patience being tired quite out, he told the old counterfeit, that, in ſhort, he had been ſtalking horſe long enough: and that now if he thought fit to enter himſelf, and take a commiſſion, well and good; and he ſhould have a leaſe to carry on his trade for ſo many years more, to his heart's content; but if not, he would expoſe his knavery to the world, for that he ſhould take away his people's trade no longer; but that he (Satan) would ſet up another in his room, that ſhould make a mere fool of him, and carry away all his cuſtomers.

Upon this the old man conſidered upon it, took the Devil's counſel and liſted in his pay; ſo he, that had played his pranks twenty-five years as conjurer, when he was no conjurer, was then forced really to deal with the Devil for fear the people ſhould know he did not: till now, he had, *ambodexter*, cheated the Devil on one hand, and the people on the other: but the Devil gained his point at laſt, and ſo he was a real wizard ever after.

But this is not the only way the Devil is injured neither; or we have often found people pretend upon him in other caſes, and of nearer concern to him a great deal, and in articles more weighty, as, in particular, in the great buſineſs of poſſeſſion. It is true, this point is not thoroughly underſtood among men, neither has the Devil thought fit to give us thoſe illuminations about it, as I believe he might do; particularly that great and important article is not, for aught I can ſee, rightly explained: namely, whether there are not two ſeveral kinds of poſſeſſion; viz. ſome wherein the Devil poſſeſſes us, and ſome in which we really poſſeſs the Devil; the nicety of which, I doubt, this age, with all its penetration, is not qualified to explain; and a diſſertation upon it, being too long for this work, eſpecially ſo near its concluſion, I am obliged to omit, as I am alſo the practical diſcourſes upon the uſefulneſs and advantages of real poſſeſſion, whether conſidered one way or other to mankind, all which I muſt leave to hereafter.

But to come back to the point in hand, and to conſider the injuſtice done to the Devil, in the various turns and tricks which men put upon him very often in this one article; viz. pretending to poſſeſſion, and to have the Devil in them, when really it is not ſo; certainly the Devil muſt take it very ill, to have

have all their demented, lunatic tricks charged upon him; and ſome of which, nay, moſt of which, are ſo groſs, ſo ſimple, ſo empty, and ſo little to the purpoſe, that the Devil muſt be aſhamed to ſee ſuch things paſs in his name, or that the world ſhould think he was concerned in them.

It is true, that poſſeſſion, being one of the principal pieces of the Devil's artifice in his managing mankind, and in which, with the moſt exquiſite ſkill, he plays the Devil among us, he has the more reaſon to be affronted when he finds himſelf invaded in this part, and angry, that any body ſhould pretend to poſſeſs, or be poſſeſſed, without his leave; and this may be the reaſon, for ought we know, why ſo many blunders have been made, when people have pretended to it without him, and he has thought fit not to own them in it; of which we have many examples in hiſtory, as in Simon Magnus, the Devil of London, the fair maid of Kent, and ſeveral others whoſe hiſtory it is not worth while to enlarge upon.

In ſhort, poſſeſſions, as I have ſaid, are nice things: as it is not ſo eaſy to mimic the Devil in that part, as it may be in ſome other; deſigning men have attempted it often; but their manner has eaſily been diſtinguiſhed, even without the Devil's aſſiſtance.

Thus the people of Salem, in New England, pretended to be bewitched, and that a black man tormented them by the inſtigation of ſuch and ſuch, whom they reſolved to bring to the gallows: this black man they would have to be the Devil, employed by the perſon whom they accuſed for a wizard: thus making the Devil a page, or footman to the wizard, to go and torment whomever the ſaid wizard commanded, till the Devil himſelf was ſo weary of the fooliſh part, that he left them to go on their own way; and at laſt they overacted the murdering part ſo far that when they confeſſed themſelves to be wizards, and poſſeſſed, and that they had correſpondance with the Devil, Satan not appeared to vouch for them, no injury would condemn them upon their own evidence, and they could not get themſelves hanged, whatever pains they took to bring it to paſs.

Thus you ſee the Devil may be wronged, and falſely accuſed, in many particulars, and often has been ſo; there are likewiſe ſome other ſorts of counterfeit devils in the world, ſuch as gypſies, fortune-tellers, fore-tellers of good and bad luck, ſellers of winds, raiſers of ſtorms, and many more, ſome practiſed among us, ſome in foreign parts, too many almoſt to

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reckon up; nay, I almoſt doubt, whether the Devil himſelf knows all the ſorts of them; for it is evident he has little or nothing to do with them, I mean not in the way of their craft.

Theſe I take to be interlopers: or, with the Guinea merchant's leave, ſeparate traders, and who act under the ſcreen and protection of Satan's power, but without his licence or authority; no doubt theſe carry away a great deal of his trade; that is to ſay, the trade which otherwiſe the Devil might have carried on by agents of his own; I cannot but ſay, that while theſe people would fain be thought devils, though they really are not, it is but juſt they ſhould be really made as much devils, as they pretend to be, or that Satan ſhould do himſelf juſtice upon them, as he threatened to do upon old Parſons of Clithro, above mentioned, and let the world know them.

CHAP. XI.

Of divination, ſorcery, the black art, paw wawing, and ſuch like pretenders to devilism; and how far the Devil is, or is not, concerned in them.

THOUGH I am writing the hiſtory of the Devil, I have not undertaken to do the like of all the kinds of people, male, or female, who ſet up for devils in the world: this would be a taſk for the Devil indeed, and fit only for him to undertake; for their number is, and has been prodigious great: and may with his other legions, be ranked among the innumerable.

What a world do we inhabit! where there is not only with us a great roaring lion-devil daily ſeeking whom of us, he may devour, and innumerable millions of leſſer devils hovering in the whole atmoſphere over us, nay, for ought we know, other millions always inviſibly moving about us, and perhaps, in us, or at leaſt in many of us; but that have, beſides all theſe, a vaſt many counterfeit hocus pocus devils; human devils, who are viſible among us, of our own ſpecies and fraternity, converſing with us upon all occaſions; who like mountebanks ſet up their ſtages in every town, chat with us at every tea-table, converſe with us in every coffee-houſe, and impudently tell us to our faces, that they are devils, boaſt of it, and uſe a thouſand tricks and arts to make us believe it too, and that too often with ſucceſs.

It muſt be confeſſed there is a ſtrong propenſity in man's nature, eſpecially the more ignorant part of mankind, to reſolve every ſtrange thing, or whether really ſtrange or not, if it be but ſtrange to us, into deviliſm, and to ſay every thing is the Devil, that they can give no account of.

Thus the famous doctors of the faculty at Paris, when John Fauſtus brought the firſt printed books that had then been ſeen in the world, or at leaſt not there, into the city and ſold them for manuſcripts; they were ſurpriſed at the performance, and queſtioned Fauſtus about it; but he affirming they were manuſcripts, and that he kept a great many clerks employed to write them, they were ſatisfied for a while.

But looking farther into the work, they obſerved the exact agreement of every book, one with another, that every line ſtood in the ſame place, every page a like number of lines, every line a like number of words; if a word was miſ-ſpelt in one, it was miſ-ſpelt alſo in all; nay, if there was a blot in one, it was alike in all; they began to muſe, how this ſhould be? In a word, the learned divines, not being able to comprehend the thing (and that was always ſufficient,) concluded it muſt be the Devil; that it was done by magic and witchcraft; and that, in ſhort, poor Fauſtus (who was indeed nothing but a mere printer) dealt with the Devil.

N. B. John Fauſtus was a ſervant or journeyman, or compoſitor, or what you pleaſe to call it, to Koſter of Haerlem, the firſt inventor of printing; and having printed the pſalter, ſold them at Paris, as manuſcripts; becauſe, as ſuch they yielded a better price.

But the learned doctors, not being able to underſtand how the work was performed, concluded as above, it was all the Devil, and that the man was a wizard; accordingly they took him up for a magician, and a conjurer, and one that worked by the black art; that is to ſay, by the help of the Devil: and, in a word, they threatened to hang him for a wizard: and, in order to it, commenced a proceſs againſt him in their criminal courts, which made ſuch a noiſe in the world, as raiſed the fame of poor John Fauſtus, to a frightful height, till at laſt he was obliged, for fear of the gallows, to diſcover the whole ſecret to them.

N. B. This is the true original of the famous Dr Fauſtus or Foſter, of whom we have believed ſuch ſtrange things, as that it is become a proverb, as great as the Devil and Dr. Foſter; whereas poor Fauſtus was no doctor, and knew no more of the Devil than any other body.

Thus the magiſtrates of Bern in Switzerland, finding a gang of French actors of puppet-ſhows had opened their ſtage in the town, upon hearing the ſurpriſing accounts which the people gave of their wonderful puppets, how they made them ſpeak, anſwer queſtions, and diſcourſe, appear and diſappear in a moment, pop up here, as if they roſe out of the earth, and down there, as if they vaniſhed, and abundance more feats of art, cenſured them as dæmons; and if they had not packed up their trinkets, and diſappeared, almoſt as dextrouſly as their puppets, they had certainly condemned the poor puppets to the flames for devils, and cenſured, if not otherwiſe puniſhed their maſters. See the count de Rochfort's, memoirs, p. 179.

Wonderful operations aſtoniſh the mind, eſpecially where the head is not over burdened with brains; and cuſtom has made it ſo natural to give the Devil either the honour or ſcandal of every thing, that we cannot otherwiſe account for, that it is impoſſible to put the people out of the road of it.

The magicians were, in the Chaldean monarchy, called the wiſe men; and though they are joined with the ſorcerers and aſtrologers in the ſame place, Dan. ii. 2. yet they were generally ſo underſtood among thoſe people; but in our language we underſtand them to be people that have an art to reveal ſecrets, interpret dreams, foretel events, &c and that uſe enchantments and ſorceries: by all which we underſtand the ſame thing; which now in a more vulgar way we expreſs by one general coarſe expreſſion, Dealing with the Devil.

The Scripture ſpeaks of a ſpirit of diviniation, Acts xvi. 16. and a wench that was poſſeſſed by this ſpirit brought her maſter much gain by ſoothſaying; that is to ſay, according to the learned, by oracling, or anſwering queſtions: whence you will ſee in the margin, that this ſoothſaying devil is there called Python, that is Apollo, who is often called Python, and who, as the oracle of Delphos, gave out ſuch anſwers, and double intendres, as this wench poſſibly did; and hence all thoſe ſpirits which were called ſpirits of divination, were in another ſenſe called Pythons.

Now when the apoſtle St Paul came to ſee this creature, this ſpirit takes upon it to declare, that thoſe men, meaning St Paul and Timotheus, were the ſervants of the Moſt High God, which ſhewed unto them the way of ſalvation. This was a good turn of the Devil, to preſerve his authority in the poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed girl; ſhe brought them gain by ſoothſaying: that is to ſay, reſolving difficult queſtions, anſwering doubts, interpreting dreams, &c. among theſe doubts, he makes her give teſtimony to Paul and Timotheus, to wheedle in with the new Chriſtians, and perhaps (though very ignorantly) even with Paul and Timotheus themſelves, ſo to give a kind of credit and reſpect to her for ſpeaking.

But the Devil who never ſpeaks truth, but with ſome ſiniſter ends, was diſcovered here, and detected; his flattering recognition not accepted, and he himſelf unkennelled as he deſerved: there the Devil was over-ſhot in his own bow again.

Here now was a real poſſeſſion, and the evil ſpirits who poſſeſſed her, did ſtoop to ſundry little acts of ſervitude, that we could give little or no reaſon for, only that the girl's maſter might get money by her; but perhaps this was a particular caſe, and prepared to honour the authority and power the apoſtle had over evil ſpirits.

But we find theſe things carried a great way farther in many caſes; that is to ſay, where the parties are thus really poſſeſſed; namely, the Devil makes agents of the poſſeſſed parties to do many things for the propagating his intereſt and kingdom, and particularly for the carrying on his dominion in the world: but I am for the preſent not ſo much upon the real poſſeſſion as the pretended; and particularly, we have had many that have believed themſelves poſſeſſed, when the Devil never believed it of them, and perhaps knew them better; ſome of theſe are really, poor devils, to be pitied, and are what I call *diables imaginaries* theſe have, notwithſtanding, done the Devil good ſervice, and brought their maſters good gain by ſoothſaying.

We find poſſeſſions acknowledged in Scripture to be really and perſonally the Devil, or, according to the text, legions of devils in the plural. The Devil, or devils rather, which poſſeſſed the man among the tombs, is poſitively affirmed to be the Devil, in the Scripture; all the evangeliſts agree in calling him ſo, and his very works ſhew it; namely, the miſchief he did, as well to the poor creature among the tombs, who was made ſo fierce, that he was the terror of all the country, as to the herd of ſwine, and to the country, in the loſs of them.

I might preach you a lecture here of the Devil's terror upon the approach of our Saviour, the dread of his government, and how he acknowledged that there was a time for his torment, which was not yet come: "Art thou come to torment us before

fore our time?" It is evident the devils apprehended that Chriſt would chain them up before the day of judgment; and therefore ſome think the Devil here being, as it were, caught out of his due bounds, poſſeſſing the poor man in ſuch a furious manner, was afraid, and petitioned Chriſt not to chain him up for it, and, as the text ſays, "They beſought him to ſuffer them to go away, &c: that is to ſay, when they ſay, "Art thou come to torment us before the time?" the meaning is, they begged he would not caſt them into torment before the time, which was already fixed; but that, if he would caſt them out of the man, he would let them go away, &c.

The evangeliſt St Luke ſays, the devils beſought him, that he would not command them to go out into the deep: our learned annotators think that part is not rightly rendered; adding, that they do not believe the Devil fears drowning; but, with ſubmiſſion, I believe the meaning is, that they would not be confined to the vaſt ocean, where no inhabitants being to be ſeen, they would be effectually impriſoned and tied down from doing miſchief, which would be a hell to them; as to their going into the ſwine that might afford us ſome allegory; but I am not diſpoſed to jeſt with the Scripture; no nor with the Devil neither, farther than needs muſt.

It is evident the Devil makes uſe of very mean inſtruments ſometimes, ſuch as the damſel poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of divination, and ſeveral others.

I remember a ſtory, how true I know not, of a weak creature, next door to an idiot, who was eſtabliſhed in the country for an oracle, and would tell people ſtrange things that ſhould be, long before they came to paſs; when people were ſick, would tell them whether they ſhould live or die; if people were married, tell how many children they ſhould have? and a hundred ſuch things as filled the people with admiration; and they were the eaſier brought to believe that the girl was poſſeſſed; but then they were divided about her too, and that was the fineſt ſpun thread, the Devil could work, for he carried a great point in it; ſome ſaid ſhe had a good ſpirit, and ſome a bad; ſome ſaid ſhe was a propheteſs, and ſome that ſhe was the Devil.

Now, had I been there to decide the queſtion, I ſhould certainly have given it for the latter; if it were only upon this account; namely, that the Devil has often found fools very neceſſary agents for the propagating his intereſt and kingdom, but we never knew the good ſpirits do ſo; on the other hand,

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it does not ſeem likely that Heaven ſhould deprive a poor creature of its ſenſes, and as it were, take her ſoul from her, and then make her an inſtrument of inſtruction to others, and an oracle to declare its decres by; this does not ſeem to be rational.

But, as far as this kind of divination is in uſe in our days, yet I do not find room to charge the Devil with making any great uſe of fools, unleſs it be ſuch as he has particularly qualified for his work: for as to idiots and naturals, they are perfectly uſeleſs to him; but a ſort of fools called the magi, indeed we have ſome reaſon to think he often works with.

We are not arrived at a certainty yet, in the ſettling this great point; namely, what magic is? whether a diabolical art, or a branch of the mathematics? Our moſt learned Lexicon Technicum is of the latter opinion, and gives us the magic ſquare, and the magic lantern, two terms of art.

The magic ſquare is when numbers in arithmetical proportion are diſpoſed into ſuch parallels, or equal ranks, as that the ſums of each row, as well diagonally as laterally, ſhall be all equal; for example, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, place theſe nine in a ſquare of three they will directly and diagonally make 18. Thus.

5	10	3
4	6	8
9	2	7

This he calls the magic ſquare, but gives no reaſon for the term, nor any account of what infernal operations are wrought by this concurrence of the numbers; neither do I ſee that there can be any ſuch uſe made of it.

The magic lantern, is an optic machine, by the means of which are repreſented, on a wall in the dark, many phantaſms, and terrible appearances, but no Devil in all this: only that they are taken for the effects of magic, by thoſe that are not acquainted with the ſecret.

All this is done by the help of ſeveral little painted pieces of glaſs, only ſo and ſo ſituated, placed in certain oppoſitions to one another, and painted with different figures, the moſt formidable being placed foremoſt, and ſuch as are moſt capable of terrifying the ſpectators; and by this all the figures may be repreſented upon the oppoſite wall, in the largeſt ſize.

I cannot but take notice, that this very piece of optic deluſion ſeems too much a-kin to the mock poſſeſſions and infernal accompliſhments, which moſt of the poſſeſſioniſts of this age pretend to; ſo that they are moſt of them mere phan-

taſms and appearances, and no more; nor is the ſpirit of divination, the magic, and necromancing, and other arts which were called diabolical, found to be of any uſe in modern practice, at leaſt in theſe parts of the world; but the Devil ſeems to do moſt of his work himſelf, and by ſhorter methods: for he has ſo complete an influence among thoſe that he now liſts into his ſervice, that he brings all the common affairs of mankind into a narrow compaſs in his management, with a dexterity peculiar to himſelf, and by which he carries on his intereſt ſilently and ſurely, much more to the detriment of virtue and good government, and conſequently much more to his ſatisfaction, than ever he did before.

There is a kind of magic or ſorcery, or what elſe you may pleaſe to call it, which though unknown to us, is yet, it ſeems, ſtill very much encouraged by the Devil; but this is a great way off, and in countries where the politer inſtruments which he finds here are not to be had: namely among the Indians of North America.

This called paw-wawing; and they have their divines, who they call paw-waws, or wizards, who uſe ſtrange geſtures, diſtortions, horrid ſmoaks, burnings and ſcents, and ſeveral ſuch things, which the ſorcerers, in ancient times are said to have uſed in caſting nativities, in phil-trees, and in determining, or as they pretended directing the fate of perſons,—by burning ſuch and ſuch herbs and roots, ſuch as hellebore, worm-wood, ſtorax, devil-wort, mandrake, night-ſhade, and abundance more ſuch, which are called noxious plants, or the product of noxious plants; alſo melting ſuch and ſuch minerals, gums, and poiſonous things, and by ſeveral helliſh mutterings, and markings over them. The like do theſe paw-waws: and the Devil is pleaſed it ſeems, (or is permitted) to fall in with theſe things, and as ſome people think, appears often to them for their aſſiſtance upon thoſe occaſions.

But be that as it will, he is eaſed of all that trouble here. He can paw-waw here himſelf without their aid; and having laid them all aſide, he negociates much of his buſineſs without embaſſadors. He is his own plenipotentiary; for he finds man ſo eaſy to come at, and ſo eaſy when he is come at, that he ſtands in no need of ſecret emiſſaries, or at leaſt not ſo much as he uſed to do.

Upon the whole, as the world within the compaſs of a few years paſt, is advanced in all kinds of knowledge and arts and every uſeful branch of what they knew before improved, and innumerable

innumerable uſeful parts of knowledge, which were concealed before, are diſcovered; why ſhould we think the Devil alone ſhould ſtand at a ſtay, take no ſteps to his farther accompliſhment, and make no uſeful diſcoveries in his way; that he alone ſhould ſtand at a ſtay, and be juſt the ſame unimproved Devil that he was before? No, no; as the world is improved every day and every age is grown wiſer and wiſer than their fathers; ſo no doubt he has beſtirred himſelf too, in order to an increaſe of knowledge and diſcovery, and that he finds every day a nearer way to go to work with mankind than he had before.

Beſides as men in general ſeem to have altered their manner, and that they move in a higher and more exalted ſphere, eſpecially as to vice and virtue; ſo the Devil may have been obliged to change his meaſures, and alter his way of working: particularly thoſe things which would take in former times, and which a ſtupid age would come eaſily into, will not go down with us now. As the taſte of vice and virtue alters, the Devil is forced to bait his hook with new compoſitions: the very thing called temptation is altered in its nature; and that which ſerved to delude our anceſtors, whoſe groſs conceptions of things cauſed them to be manageable with leſs art, will not do now; the caſe is quite altered. In ſome things, perhaps, as I hinted above, we come into crime with eaſe, and may be led by a finger; but when we come to a more refined way of ſinning, which our anceſtors never underſtood, other and more refined politics muſt be made uſe of: and the Devil has been put upon many uſeful projects, and inventions, to make many new diſcoveries and experiments to carry on his affairs; and to ſpeak impartially, he is ſtrangely improved either in knowledge or experiment, within theſe few years,—he has found out a great many new inventions to ſhorten his own labour, and carry on his buſineſs in the world currently, which he never was maſter of before, or at leaſt we never knew he was.

No wonder then that he has changed hands too, and that he has left of paw-wawing in theſe parts of the world,—that we do not find our houſes diſturbed as they uſed to be, and the ſtools and chairs walking about out of one room into another as formerly,—that children do not vomit crooked pins and ruſty ſtub nails, as of old: the air is not full of noiſes, nor the church-yard full of hobgoblins, ghoſts do not walk about in winding ſheets nor the good old ſcolding wives viſit and

plague their huſbands after they are dead, as they did when they were alive.

The age is grown too wiſe to be agitated by theſe dull ſcare-crow things which their forefathers were tickled with. Satan has been obliged to lay by his puppet-ſhows and his tumblers; thoſe things are grown ſtale: his morrice-dancing devils, his mountebanking and quacking, will not do now; thoſe things, as they may be ſuppoſed, to be very troubleſome to him, (and, but that he has ſervants enough, would be chargeable too,) are now of no great uſe in the management of his affairs.

In a word, men are too much devils themſelves in the ſenſe that I have called them ſo, to be frightened with ſuch little low priced appearances as theſe; they are better acquainted with the old archangel than ſo, and they ſeem to tell him they muſt be treated after another manner, and that then, as they are good natured and tractable, he may deal with them upon better terms.

Hence the Devil goes to work with mankind a much ſhorter way; for inſtead of the art of wheedling and whining, together with the laborious part of tricking and ſharping, hurrying and driving, frighting and terrifying, all which the Devil was put to the trouble of before; in ſhort, he acts the grand manner, as the architects call it (I don't know whether our Free-Maſons may underſtand the word; and therefore I may hereafter explain it, as it is to be diabolically as well as mathematically underſtood).

At preſent my meaning is, he acts with them immediately and perſonally by a magnificent transformation, making them mere devils to themſelves, upon all needful occaſions, and devils to one another too, whenever he (Satan) has need of their ſervice.

This way of embarking mankind in the Devil's particular engagement, is really very modern and though the Devil himſelf may have been long enough acquainted with the method, and, as I have heard, began to practiſe it towards the cloſe of the Roman Empire, when men began to act upon very polite principles, and were capable of the moſt refined wickedneſs, and afterwards with ſome Popes, who likewiſe were a kind of church devils, ſuch a Satan himſelf could hardly expect to find in the world; yet I do not find that he was ever able to bring it into practice, at leaſt not ſo univerſally as he does now: but now the caſe is altered, and, men being generally more

more expert in wickedneſs than they were formerly, they ſuffer the ſmaller alteration of the ſpecies, in being tranſmigrated; in a word they turn into devil, with no trouble at all hardly, either to the Devil, or to themſelves.

This particular would want much the leſs explanation, could I obtain a licence from Sir Hellebore Wormwood, Bart. or from my Lord Thwartover, Baron of Scoundrel hall, in the kingdom of Ireland, to write the true hiſtory of their own conduct; and how early, and above all, how eaſily they commenced devils, without the leaſt impeachment of their characters as wiſe men, and without any diminution of that part of their denomination which eſtabliſhed them for fools.

How many mad fellows appear among us every day in the critical juncture of their tranſmigration, juſt when they have ſo much of the man left as to be known by their names, and enough of the Devil taken up to ſettle their characters! This eaſineſs of the Devil's acceſs to theſe people, and the great convenience it is to him in his general buſineſs, is a proof to me that he has no more occaſion for diviners, magicians, ſorcerers, and whatſoever elſe we pleaſe to call thoſe people who were formerly ſo great with him; for what occaſion has he to employ devils and wizards to confound mankind, when he is arrived to ſuch a perfection of arts as to bring men, at leaſt in theſe parts of the world, to do it all themſelves? Upon this account we do not find any of the old ſorcerers and diviners, magicians or witches, appear among us; not that the Devil might not be as well able to employ ſuch people as formerly, and qualify them for the employment too, but that really there is no need of them hereabout, the Devil having a ſhorter way, and mankind being much more eaſily poſſeſſed; not the old herd of ſwine were ſooner agitated, though there were full two thouſand of them together; nature has opened the door, and the Devil has egreſs and regreſs at pleaſure, ſo that the witches and diviners are quite out of the queſtion.

Nor let any man be alarmed at this alteration in the caſe, as it ſtands between mankind and the Devil, and think the Devil, having gained ſo much ground, may in time, by encroachment, come to a general poſſeſſion of the whole race, and ſo we ſhould all come to be devils incarnate: I ſay let us not be alarmed; for Satan does not get theſe advantages by encroachment, and by his infernal power or art; no, not at all; but it is the man himſelf does it, by his indolence and negligence on one hand, and his complaiſance to the Devil on the

other; and both ways he, as it were, opens the door to him, becons him with his very hand to come in, and the Devil has nothing to do but to enter and take poſſeſſion: now, if it be ſo, and man is ſo frank to him, you know the Devil is no fool, not to take the advantage when it is offered him; and therefore it is wonder if the conſequences which I have been juſt now naming follow.

But let no man be diſcouraged at this, from reaſuming his natural and religious powers, and venturing to ſhut the Devil out; for the caſe is plain, he may be ſhut out; the ſoul is a ſtrong caſtle, and has a good garriſon placed within, to defend it; if the garriſon behave well and do their duty, it is impregnable, and the cowardly Devil muſt raiſe his ſiege and begone; nay, he muſt fly, or, as we call it, make his eſcape, leſt he be laid by the heels; that is, leſt his weakneſs be expoſed, and all his lurking, lying-in-wait, ambuſcade tricks: this part would bear a great enlargement; but I have not room to be witty upon him; ſo you muſt take it in the groſs, the Devil lies in blye buſh, as our country people call it, to watch your coming out of your hold; and, if you happen to go abroad unarmed, he ſeizes upon and maſters you with eaſe.

Unarmed! you will ſay; what arms ſhould I take? what fence againſt a flail? What weapons can a man take to fight the Devil? I could tell you what to fight him with, and what you might fright him with; for the Devil is to be frightened with ſeveral things beſides holy water; but it is too ſerious for you, and you will tell me I am a-preaching and a-canting, and the like; ſo I muſt let the Devil manage you, rather than diſpleaſe you with talking ſcripture and religion.

Well, but may not the Devil be fought with ſome of his own weapons? Is there no dealing with him in a way of human nature? This would require a long anſwer, and ſome philoſophy might be acted, or at leaſt imitated, and ſome magic, perhaps; for they tell us, there are ſpells to draw away even the Devil himſelf; as in ſome places they nail horſeſhoes upon the threſhold of the door, to keep him out; in other places old pieces of flint, with ſo many holes and ſo many corners, and the like; but I muſt anſwer in the negative; I do not know what Satan might be ſcared at in thoſe days; but he is either grown cunninger ſince, or bolder; for he values none of thoſe things now: I queſtion much whether he would value St Dunſtan and his red-hot tongs, if he was to meet with him now, or St. Francis, or any of the Saints, no not the hoſt itſelf

ſelf in full proceſſion; and therefore, though you do not care I ſhould preach, yet in ſhort, if you are afraid he ſhould charge upon you, and attack you, if you won't make uſe of the ſcripture weapons I ſhould have mentioned, and which you may hear of, if you inquire at Eph. vi. 16. you muſt look for better where you think you can find them.

But to go on with my work, the Devil I ſay, is not to be ſcared with mankins, nor does he employ his old inſtruments, but does much of his work himſelf without inſtruments.

And yet I muſt enter a Caveat here too againſt being miſunderſtood in my laying the Devil ſtands in no need of agents; for when I ſpeak ſo I am to be taken in a limited ſenſe; I do not ſay he needs them no-where, but only that he does not need them in thoſe polite parts of the world which I have been ſpeaking of, and perhaps not much here; but in many remote countries it is otherwiſe ſtill; the Indians of America are particularly ſaid to have witches among them, as well in thoſe countries where the Spaniards, and the Engliſh, and other nations, have planted themſelves, as amongſt thoſe where the European nations ſeldom come; for example, the people of Canada; that is, of the countries under the French government of Quebec, the Equimeaux and other northern climates, have Magicians, wizards, and witches, whom they called Pilloatas, or Pillotoas: Theſe pretended they ſpeak intimately and familiarly with the Devil, and receive from him the knowledge of things to come; all which, by the way, I take to be little more than this: that theſe fellows, being a little more cunning than the reſt, think that, by pretending to ſomething more than human, they ſhall make the ſtronger impreſſions on the ignorant people; as Mahomet amuſed the world with his pigeon, uſing it to pick peas out of his ear, and perſuaded the people it brought him ſuperior revelations and inſpirations from Paradiſe.

Thus theſe Pillotoas, gaining an oppinion among the people, behave like ſo many mountebanks of hell, pretending to underſtand dark things, cure diſeaſes, practiſes ſurgery, phyſic and necromancy, all together; I will not ſay, but Satan may pick out ſuch tools to work with, and I believe does in thoſe parts; but I think he has found a nearer way to the wood with us; and that is ſufficient to my preſent purpoſe.

Some would perſuade me, the Devil, had a great hand in the religious breeches in France, among the clergy; viz. about the Pope's conſtitution *uningenitus*; and that he made a fair attempt

attempt to ſet the Pope and the Gallician church together by the ears; for they were all juſt upon the point of breaking out into a church war, that, for aught we knew, might have gone farther than the Devil himſelf cared it ſhould. Now I am of the quite contrary opinion: I believe the Devil really did not make the breach, but rather healed it, for fear it ſhould have gone ſo far among them as to have ſet them all in a flame, and have opened the door to the return of the Hugonots again, which it was in a fair way to have done.

But be it one way or the other, the hiſtorical part ſeems to be a little againſt me; for it is certain, the Devil both wanted, and made uſe of, legions of agents, as well human as infernal, viſible and inviſible, in that great and important affair; and we cannot doubt but he has innumerable inſtruments ſtill at work about it.

Like as in Poland, I make no queſtion but the Devil has thoulands of his Banditti at work at this time; and in another country not far from it, perhaps, preparing matters for the next general diet, taking care to prevent giving any relaxation to the proteſtants, and to juſtify the moderate executions at Thorn, to excite a Nation to quarrel with every body who are able to fight with nobody; to erect the Apoſtate race of S———y upon a throne which they have no title to, and turn an elective throne into a hereditary, in favour of Popery.

I might anticipate all your objections, by granting the buſy Devil is this time employing all his agents and inſtruments (for I never told you they were idle and uſeleſs) in ſtriving to inflame the Chriſtian world, and bring a new war to overſpread Europe; I might, perhaps, point out to you ſome of the meaſures he takes, the provocatives which his State Phyſicians adminiſter to the courts and counſellors of princes, to foment and ferment the ſpirits and members of nations, kingdoms, empires, and ſtates, in the world, in order to bring theſe glorious ends of blood and war to paſs; for you cannot think but he that knows ſo much of the Devil's affairs, as to write his hiſtory, muſt know ſomething of all theſe matters more than thoſe that do not know ſo much as he.

But all this is remote to the preſent caſe; for this is no impeachment of Satan's new methods with mankind, in this part of the world, and in his private and ſeparate capacity; all this only ſignifies, that, in his more general and national affairs, the Devil acts ſtill by his old methods; and when he is to ſeduce

duce or embroil nations, he, like other conquerors, ſubdues them by armies, employs mighty Squadrons of Devils, and ſends out ſtrange detachments, with generals and generaliſſimos to lead them, ſome to one part of the world, ſome to another; ſome to influence one nation, ſome to manage and direct another, according as buſineſs preſents, and his occaſions require, that his affairs may be carried on currently, and to his ſatisfaction.

If it were not thus, but that the Devil by his new and exquiſite management, of which I have ſaid ſo much, had brought mankind in general to be the agents of their own miſchiefs, and that the world were ſo at his back, that he need but command them to go and fight, declare war, raiſe armies, deſtroy cities, kingdom, countries, and people; the world would be a field of blood indeed, and all things would run into confuſion preſently.

But this is not the caſe at all; Heaven has not let go the government of the creation to his ſubdued enemy, the Devil; that would overturn the whole ſyſtem of God, and give Satan more power, than ever he was, or will be veſted with. When, therefore, I ſpeak of a few forward wretches in our day, who are ſo warm in their wickedneſs, that they anticipate the Devil, ſave him the trouble to tempt, turn devils to themſelves, and gallop Hellward faſter than he drives; I ſpeak of them as ſingle perſons, and acting in their own perſonal and private capacity; but when I ſpeak of nations and kingdoms, there the Devil is obliged to go on in the old road, and act by ſtratagem, by his proper machinery, and to make uſe of all his arts, and all his agents, juſt as he has done in all ages, from the beginning of his politic government to this day.

And if it was not thus too, what would become of all his numberleſs legions, of which all nations have heard ſo much, and all parts of the world have had ſo much fatal experience? They would ſeem to be quite out of employment, and be rendered uſeleſs in the world of ſpirits, where it is to be ſuppoſed they reſide; not the Devil himſelf could find any buſineſs for them, which, by the way, to buſy and miſchievous ſpirits, as they are, would be a hell to them, even before their time; they would be, as it were, doomed to a ſtate of inactivity, which we may ſuppoſe was one part of their expulſion from bleſſedneſs, and the creation of man; or as they were for the ſurpriſing interval between the deſtruction of mankind by the deluge and Noah's coming out of the ark, when indeed they might be ſaid to have nothing at all to do. But

But this is not Satan's caſe: and therefore let me tell you too, that you may not think I treat the caſe with more levity than I really do, and then I am ſure I intend to do; though it is too true, that our modern and modiſh ſinners have arrived to more exquiſite ways of being wicked than their fathers, and really ſeem, as I have ſaid, to need no Devil to tempt them; nay, that they do Satan's work for him as to others alſo, and make themſelves Devils to their neighbours, tempting others to crimes even faſter than the Devil deſires them, running before they are ſent, and going the Devil's errands gratis; by which means, Satan's work is, as to them, done to his hand, and they may be ſaid to ſave him a great deal of trouble; yet after all, the Devil has ſtill a great deal of buſineſs upon his hands, and as well himſelf, as all his legions, find themſelves a full employmont in diſturbing the world, and oppoſing the glory and kingdom of their great ſuperior, whoſe kingdom it is their whole buſineſs, however vain in its end, to overthrow and deſtroy, if they were able, or at leaſt to endeavour it.

This being the caſe, it follows of courſe, that the general michiefs of mankind, as well national and public, as family milchiefs, and even perſonal (except as before excepted,) lie all ſtill at the Devil's door, as much as ever, let his advocates bring him off it, if they can: And this brings us back again to the manner of the Devil's management, and the way of his working by human agents, or, if you will, the way of human Devils working in affairs of low life, ſuch as we call divination, ſorcery, black art, necromany, and the like; all which I take to conſiſt of two material parts, and both very neceſſary for us to be rightly informed of.

1. The part which Satan by himſelf, or his inferior Devils, impowers ſuch people to do, as he is in confederacy with here on earth, to whom he may be ſaid, like the maſter of an opera or comedy, to give their part to act, and to qualify them to act it; whether he obliges them to a rehearſal in his preſence, to try their talents, and ſee that they are capable of performing, that indeed I have not inquired into.
2. That part which thoſe impowered people do volunteer, or beyond their commiſſion, to ſhew their diligence in the ſervice of their new maſter: and either, 1. To bring griſt to their own mill, and make their market of their employment in

in the beſt manner they can; or, 2. To gain applauſe, be admired, wondered at, and applauded, as if they were ten times more devils than really they are.

In a word, the matter conſiſts of what the Devil does by the help of thoſe people, and what they do in his name without him. The Devil is ſometimes cheated in his own buſineſs: there are pretenders to witchcraft and black art, whom Satan never made any bargain with, but whom he connives at, becauſe at leaſt they do his cauſe no harm, though their buſineſs is rather to get money, than to render him any ſervice; of which I gave you a remarkable inſtance before.

But to go back to his real agents, of which I reckon two:

1. Thoſe who act by direction and confederacy, as I have ſaid already, many do.
2. Thoſe whom he acts in and by, and they perhaps know it not; of which ſort hiſtory gives plenty of examples, from Machiavel's firſt diſciple —— to the famous Cardinal Alberoni, and even to ſome, more modern than his eminence, of whom I can ſay no more till farther occaſion offers.

1. Thoſe who act by the immediate direction of the Devil, and in confederacy with him: theſe are ſuch as I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, whoſe arts are truly black, becauſe really infernal. It will be very hard to decide the diſpute between thoſe who really act thus, in confederacy with the Devil, and thoſe who only pretend to it: ſo I ſhall leave that diſpute where I found it: but that there are, or at leaſt have been, a ſet of people in the world, who really are of his acquaintance, and very intimate with him; and though, as I have ſaid, he has much altered his ſchemes, and changed hands of late; yet that there are ſuch people, perhaps of all ſorts: and that the Devil keeps up his correſpondence with them; I muſt not venture to deny that part, leſt I bring upon me the whole poſſe of the conjuring and bewitching crew, male and female, and they ſhould mob me for pretending to deny them the honour of dealing with the Devil, which they are ſo exceedingly willing to have the fame of.

Not that I am hereby obliged to believe all the ſtrange things the witches and wizards, who have been allowed to be ſuch, nay, who have been hanged for it, have ſaid of themſelves; nay, that they have confeſſed of themſelves, even at the gallows;

gallows; and if I come to have an occaſion to ſpeak freely of the matter, I may pehaps convince you, that the Devil's poſſeſſing power is much leſſened of late; and that he either is limited, and his fetter ſhortened more than it has been, or that he does not find the old way, as I ſaid before, ſo fit for his purpoſe as he did formerly, and therefore takes other meaſures: but I muſt adjourn that to a time and place by itſelf: but we are told, that there are another ſort of people, and, perhaps a great many of them too, in whom, and by whom, the Devil really acts, and they know it not.

It would take up a great deal of time and room, too much for this place, ſo near the cloſe of this work, to deſcribe and mark out the involuntary Devils which there are in the world; of whom it may be truly ſaid, that really the Devil is in them, and they know it not. Now, though the Devil is cunning and managing, and can be very ſilent, where he finds it for his intereſt not to be known; yet it is very hard for him to conceal himſelf, and to give ſo little diſturbance in the houſe, as that the family ſhould not know, who lodged in it: yet I ſay, the Devil is ſo ſubtile and ſo miſchevious an agent, that he uſes all manner of methods, and craft, to reſide in ſuch people as he finds for his purpoſe, whether they will or no; and, which is more, whether they know it or no.

And let none of my readers be angry, or think themſelves ill uſed, when I tell them, the Devil may be in them, and may act them, and by them, and they not know it; for I muſt add, it may, perhaps, be one of the greateſt pieces of human wiſdom in the world, for a man to know when the Devil is in him, and when not; when he is a tool or agent of hell, and when he is not; in a word, when he is doing the Devil's work, and under his direction, and when not.

It is true, this is a very weighty point, and might deſerve to be handled in a more ſerious way than I ſeem to be talking in all this book: but give me leave to talk of things my own way; and withal, to tell you, that there is no part of this work ſo ſeemingly ludicrous, but a grave and well weighed mind may make a ſerious and ſolid application of it, if they pleaſe; nor is there any part of this work, in which a clear ſight, and a good ſenſe, may not ſee, that the author's deſign is, that they ſhould do ſo; and, as I am now ſo near the end of my book, I thought it was meet to tell you ſo, and lead you to it as far as I can.

I ſay it is a great part of human wiſdom, to know when the

the Devil is acting in us, and by us, and when not; the next, and ſtill greateſt part, would be to prevent him, put a ſtop to his progreſs, bid him go about his buſineſs and let him know, he ſhould carry on his deſigns no farther in that manner; that we will be his tools no longer; in ſhort to turn him out of doors, and bring a ſtronger power to take poſſeſſion: But this, indeed, is too ſolid a ſubject, and too great to begin with here.

But now, as to the bare knowing when he is at work with us, I ſay, this though it is conſiderable, may be done, nor is it ſo difficult; for example, you have no more to do, but look a little into the microcoſm of the ſoul, and ſee there, how the paſſions, which are the blood, and the affections, which are the ſpirits, move in their particular veſſels; how they circulate, and in what temper the pulſe beats there, and you may eaſily ſee who turns the wheel: If a perfect calm poſſeſſes the ſoul; if peace and temper prevail, and the mind feels no tempeſt riſing; if the affections are regular, and exalted to virtuous and ſublime objects, the ſpirits cool, and the mind ſedate; the man is in a general rectitude of mind; he may be truly ſaid to be his own man; Heaven ſhines upon his ſoul with its benign influences, and he is out of the reach of the evil ſpirit; for the divine ſpirit is an influence of peace, all calm and bright, happy and ſweet, like itſelf, and tending to every thing that is good, both preſent and future.

But, on the other hand, if at any time the mind is ruffled: if vapours riſe, clouds gather; if paſſions ſwell the breaſt; if anger, envy, revenge, hatred, wrath, ſtrife if theſe, or any of theſe, hover over you; much more, if you feel them within you; if the affections are poſſeſſed, and the ſoul hurried down the ſtream to embrace low and baſe objects; if thoſe ſpirits, which are the life and enlivening powers of the ſoul, are drawn off to parties, and to be engaged in a vicious and corrupt manner, ſhooting out wild and wicked deſires, and running the man headlong into crime; the caſe is eaſily reſolved, the man is poſſeſſed, the Devil is in him; and, having taken the fort, or at leaſt the counterſcarp and out-works, is making his lodgment to cover and ſecure himſelf in his hold, that he may not be diſpoſſeſſed.

Nor can he be eaſily diſpoſſeſſed, when he has got ſuch hold as this; and 'tis no wonder, that being lodged thus upon the out works of the ſoul he continues to ſap the foundation of

the reſt: and, by his inceſſant and furious aſſaults, reduces the man at laſt to ſurrender.

If the allegory be not as juſt and oppoſite as you would have it be, you may however, ſee by it, in a full view, the ſtate of the man, and how the Devil carries on his deſigns: Nothing is more common, and, I believe, there are few thinking minds but may reflect upon it in their own compaſs, than for our paſſions and affections to flow out of the ordinary channel; the ſpirits and blood of the ſoul to be extravaſated, the paſſions grow violent and outrageous, the affections impetuous, corrupt, and violently vicious: Whence does all this proceed: From heaven we cannot pretend it comes; if we muſt ſay it is the Devil, whoſe door muſt it lie at? Pride ſwells the paſſions; avarice moves the affections and what is pride, and what is avarice but the Devil is in the inſide of the man? aye, as perſonally and really as ever he was in the herd of ſwine.

Let not any man then who is a ſlave to his paſſions, or who is chained down to his coveţouſneſs, pretend to take it ill, when I ſay he has the Devil in him, or that he is a Devil: What elſe can it be, and how comes it to paſs that paſſion and revenge ſo often diſpoſſeſs the man of himſelf, as to lead him to commit murder, to lay plots and ſnares for the life of his enemies, and ſo to thirſt for blood? How comes this but by the Devil's putting thoſe ſpirits of the ſoul into ſo violent a ferment, into a fever, that the circulation is precipitated to that degree, and that the man too is precipitated into miſchief, and at laſt into ruin? It is all the Devil, though the man does not know it.

In like manner, avarice leads him to rob, plunder, and deſtroy, for money, and to commit ſometimes the worſt of violences to obtain the wicked reward. How many have had their throats cut for their money, have been murdered on the highway, or in their beds, for the deſire of what they had? It is the ſame thing in other articles; every vice is the Devil in a man; luſt of rule is the Devil of great men; and that ambition is their Devil; as much as whoring is father ——'s Devil; one has a Devil of one claſs acting him, one another; and every man's reigning vice is a devil to him.

Thus the Devil has his involuntary inſtruments, as well as thoſe who act in confederacy with him; he has a very great ſhare in many of us, and acts us, and in us, unknown to ourſelves, though we know nothing of it, and indeed though we may not ſuſpect it ourſelves; like Hazael the Aſſyrian, who, when

when the prophet told him, how he would act the Devil upon the poor Iſraelites, anſwered, with deteſtation, Is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this thing? and yet he was that dog, and did all thoſe cruel things for all that; the Devil acting him, or acting in him, to make him wickeder than ever he thought it was poſſible for him to be.

THE CONCLUSION.

Of the Devil's *laſt ſcene of liberty, and what may be ſuppoſed to be his end; with what we are to underſtand of his being tormented for ever and ever.*

AS the Devil is prince of the power of the air, his kingdom is mortal, and muſt have an end; and as he is called the God of this world, that is, the great uſurper of the homage and reverence which mankind ought of right to pay to their Maker, ſo his uſurpation alſo, like the world itſelf, muſt have an end: Satan is called the god of the world, as men too muſt proſtrate and proſtitute themſelves to him; yet he is not the governor of this world; and therefore the homage and worſhip he has from the world is an uſurpation; and this will have an end, becauſe the world itſelf will have an end; and all mankind, as they had a beginning in time, ſo muſt expire, and be removed, before the end of time.

Since then the Devil's empire is to expire, and come to an end; and, that the Devil himſelf, and all his hoſt of devils, are immortal ſeraphs, ſpirits that are not embodied, and cannot die, but are to remain in being; the queſtion before us next will be, what is to become of him? What is his ſtate to be? Whether is he to wander; and in what condition is he to remain to that eternity to which he is ſtill to exiſt?

I hope no man will miſtake me ſo much in what I have ſaid as to ſpirits, which are all flame, not being affected with fire, as if I ſuppoſed there was no place of puniſhment for the Devil, nor any kind of puniſhment that could affect them; and ſo of our ſpirits alſo when transformed into flame.

I muſt be allowed to ſpeak there of that material fire, by which, as by an allegory, all the terrors of an eternal ſtate are repreſented to us in ſcripture, and in the writings of the learned commentators, and by which the pain of ſenſe is deſcribed.

This

This, perhaps, I do not underſtand as they ſeem to do, and therefore have ſaid.

When we are all flame (that is all ſpirit), we ſhall all fire (that is, all ſuch fire as this) deſpiſe. And thus I claim to be underſtood.

It does not follow from hence, neither do I ſuggeſt, or ſo much as think, that infinite power cannot form a ſomething (though inconceivable to us here) which ſhall be as tormenting, and as inſupportable to a devil, an apoſtate ſeraph, and to a ſpirit, though exalted, unembodied, and rarified into flame, as fire would be to other bodies; in which I think I am orthodox, and do not give the leaſt occaſion to an enemy to charge me with profane ſpeaking, in theſe words, or to plead for thinking profanely himſelf.

It muſt be atheiſtical to the laſt degree, to ſuggeſt that whereas the Devil has been heaping up and amaſſing guilt ever ſince the creation of man, increaſing in hatred of God, and rebellion againſt him, and in all poſſible endeavour to dethrone and depoſe the Majeſty of heaven; that yet heaven had not prepared, or could not prepare, a juſt penalty for him; and that it ſhould not all end in God's entire victory over hell, and in Satan's open condemnation: Heven could not be juſt to its own glory, if he ſhould not avenge himſelf upon this rebel, for all his ſuperlative wickedneſs in his modern as well as ancient ſtation; for the blood of ſo many millions of his faithful ſubjects and ſaints whom he has deſtroyed; and, if nothing elſe offered itſelf to prove this part it would appear undoubted to me. But this I confeſs, does not belong to Satan's hiſtory, and therefore I have reſerved it to this place, and ſhall alſo be the ſhorter on it.

That his condition is to be a ſtate of puniſhment, and that by torment, the Devil himſelf has owned; and his calling out to the bleſſed Lord, when he caſt him out of the furious man among the tombs, is a proof of it; "what have we to do with thee; and, art thou come to torment us before the time?" Luke viii. 28 where the Devil acknowledges four things, and three of them are directly to my preſent purpoſe; and, if you will not believe the word of God, I hope you will believe the Devil, eſpecially when it is open confeſſion againſt himſelf.

1. He confeſſeth Chriſt to be the ſon of God (that by the way), and no thanks to him; for that does not want the Devil's evidence.

2. He

2. He acknowledges he may be tormented.

3. He acknowledges Chriſt was able to torment him.

4. He acknowledges that there is a time appointed when he ſhall be tormented.

As to how, in what manner, and by what means, this tormenting of the Devil is to be performed or executed that I take to be as needleſs to us, as it is impoſſible to know; and, not being at preſent inclined to fill your heads and thoughts with weak imperfect gueſſes, I leave it where I found it.

It is enough to us, that this torment of the Devil is repreſented to us by fire; it being impoſſible for our confined thoughts to conceive of torment by any thing in the world more exquiſite: whence I conclude, that devils ſhall at laſt receive a puniſhment ſuitable to their ſpirituous nature, and as exquiſitely tormenting as a burning fire would be to our bodies.

Having thus ſettled my own belief of this matter, and ſtated it ſo, as I think will let you ſee it is rightly founded, the matter ſtands thus;

Satan having been let looſe to play his game in this world, has improved his time to the utmoſt; he has not failed, on all occaſions, to exert his hatred, rage, and malice, at his conqueror and enemy, namely, his maker; he has not failed, from principles of mere envy and pride to purſue mankind with all poſſible rancour, in order to deprive him of the honour and felicity which he was created for, namely, to ſucceed the Devil and his angels in the ſtate of glory from which they fell.

This hatred of God, and envy at man, having broken out in ſo many ſeveral ways in the whole ſeries of time from the creation, muſt neceſſarily have greatly increaſed his guilt; and, as heaven is righteous to judge him, muſt terminate in an increaſe of puniſhment adequate to his crime, and ſufficient to his nature.

Some have ſuggeſted, that there is yet a time to come, when the Devil ſhall exert more rage, and do more miſchief, than ever yet he has been permitted to do: whether he ſhall break his chain, or be unchained for a time, they cannot tell, nor I neither; and it is happy for my work, that even this part too does not belong to his hiſtory. If ever it ſhall be given an account of by mankind, it muſt be after it is come to paſs; for my part is not to prophecy or fortell what the Devil ſhall do, but to give the hiſtory of what he has done.

Thus, good people, I have brought the hiſtory of the Devil down to your own times; I have as it were, raiſed him for you, and ſet him in your view, that you may know him, and have a care of him.

If any cunninger man among you think they are able now to lay him again, and ſo to diſpoſe of him out of your ſight, that you ſhall be troubled no more with him either here or hereafter, let them go to work with him their own way; you know things future do not belong to an hiſtorian; ſo I leave him among you, wiſhing you may be able to give no worſe an account of him for the time to come, than I have done for the time paſt.

FINIS.

DURHAM.

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